Daily Report

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GDR-USSR Announce Maneuvers for 24-30 Jul

LD1807135188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1306 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 18 Jul (ADN)—A joint troop exercise between the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG) and the GDR National People's Army will take place as planned from 24-30 July 1988 in the Brandenburg, Eisenhuettenstadt, Peitz, Jessen and Moeckern areas. Taking part in this will be up to a total of 17,800 members of the fraternal armies. The aim is to perfect the state of training of the staffs and troops in carrying out defensive actions. The exercise will be led by a commander of an army of the GSFG.

In accordance with the final document of the Stockholm conference, this has been announced to all signatory states. Observers from these countries have been invited.

Further Reportage on Warsaw Pact PCC Session

Ceausescu Meets Zhivkov

AU1407204888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1951 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/7/1988—Thursday afternoon, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, heading the Romanian delegation at the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the states participant in the Warsaw Treaty, met Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC of the BCP, president of Bulgaria's Council of State, at his Warsaw residence.

During the talks the sides exchanged views on the evolution of the Romanian-Bulgarian bilateral relations and their further development in various domains of joint interest.

They reasserted the resolve to strengthen continuously the Romanian- Bulgarian collaboration and cooperation in the interest of both countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace.

Honecker, Jaruzelski Chair Sessions

LD1507192888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference has begun in the Council of Ministers building. Taking part in the meeting are delegations from: Bulgaria, with Todor Zhivkov; Czechoslovakia, with Milos Jakes; the GDR, with Erich Honecker; Romania, with Nicolae Ceausescu; Hungary, with Karoly Grosz; the Soviet Union, with Mikhail Gorbachev; and Poland, with Wojciech Jaruzelski. Also taking part in the conference are: Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, supreme commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, and Henryk Jaroszek, secretary-general of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee and deputy foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic.

Wojciech Jaruzelski addressed words of welcome to the delegations. There were two sessions today, which were chaired by Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Ceausescu Gives Dinner Toast

LD1507212488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1836 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw 15 Jul ADN—The text of Nicolae Ceausescu's toast at the dinner for the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee hosted by Wojciech Jaruzelski is as follows:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the delegations taking part in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states I would like warmly to thank the Central Committee of the PZPR, the Government of the PPR and Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski personally for the greetings and hospitality extended to us and the conditions that have been created for the proper conducting of the work of this meeting.

We also extend to all the people of friendly Poland our cordial greetings and best wishes for progress and further flourishing and for new, important achievements in the building of socialism.

At the meeting we have held a broad exchange of views on questions of the greatest importance for the consolidation of the cooperation of our countries in the realization of the tasks for their socio-economic development in a climate of broad international cooperation, disarmament, security, and peace.

We have reached the common conclusion that the present international situation is still very contradictory, serious, and complicated. Although with the signing of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States certain steps have been taken in the direction of disarmament, it must be noted that the dangerous course of events still has not changed radically in the direction of detente, cooperation, and peace. The arms race is being continued, and new stockpiles of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction are being accumulated, which increases the danger of a new world war, which would inevitably be a devastating nuclear war.

Starting from this, we agreed that it is necessary to redouble our efforts to achieve disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. In this connection our countries believe that the signing of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States, a complete and comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon tests and renunciation of the so-called "Star Wars" and all activities for the militarization of space would be of special significance.

We also consider it necessary to begin, as soon as possible, negotiations on the complete removal of all short-range nuclear weapons from the continent of Europe and also concrete negotiations between the states of the two military alliances—with participation by all the countries of Europe—on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms. We also reached agreement on other, particularly important measures for the consolidation of confidence and security on the continent and for the development of all-European cooperation.

With reference to the further deterioration of the world economy, which is affecting the developing countries in particular, our countries have stressed the need for an intensification of efforts directed at overcoming this situation, the elimination of underdevelopment, and the creation of a new world economic order based on relations of complete equality and justice.

Taking into account the particular complexity of these problems and the fact that they cannot be solved by only a few states, the equal participation of all countries, independent of their size or social order, is urgently needed to overcome these problems. In general, we have spoken emphatically in support of solving all contentious questions by means of negotiations, in support of the development of relations between states in accordance with the principles of complete equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, nonintervention in each other's internal affairs, and mutual advantage.

Our starting point in the analysis of the contemporary international situation has been the necessity of new thinking and a new approach to the questions of peace and war, to all the extremely complex problems disturbing our epoch.

One can say that the decisions made open up new perspectives for the consolidation of our cooperation both in the construction of the new order, the successful realization of the programs of socialist development, and also in the struggle for disarmament, security, and peace in Europe and in the whole world. The meeting has powerfully affirmed the will and resolution of our parties and people to do everything possible for the decisive transition to disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament; and for mutual understanding and cooperation; for the unity of all forces in the struggle for the creation of a better and more just world without weapons and war, a world of peace and peaceful cooperation between nations.

I express the conviction that the exchange of thoughts and the understandings achieved by us at the meeting will correspond completely to the demands and expectations of our people, the forces of progress and peace in the entire world. I would like to propose a toast:

To the consolidation of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and people; between all people of the world in the struggle for disarmament, freedom, and independence; for progress, security, and peace;

To the health of you all!

Jaruzelski Gives Dinner Toast

LD1507220588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1857 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw 15 Jul ADN—The text of Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech at this evening's dinner for the Warsaw Pact Consultative Committee is as follows:

Dear comrades, I cordially welcome you to this friendly meeting of the highest representatives of the Warsaw Pact states, who are taking part in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

We are meeting at an important moment. The peace offensive of the Soviet Union and the increased activity of the entire socialist community are yielding concrete results. A first real step has been taken along the road to arms limitation. The course and results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting testify that realism is beginning to make its path in international life. Once again it has turned out that dialogue is extremely useful and that agreement is possible even on most difficult issues.

We remain true to the ideals of a world free from violence and the arms race. We want to have good relations and mutually useful cooperation, based on the principles of equal rights, with all countries.

A historical chance has arisen to take further steps toward the realization of this vision. We regard the processes now taking place with hope, but at the same time we are aware that one cannot expect the stereotypes that have come about in the course of many years suddenly to disappear or the economic interests of groups that make fantastic profits from arms production to lose their importance.

The Washington treaty, the ebbing of the wave of confrontation in many European countries, the climate of the recent extraordinary meeting of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament—all this allows one to say that a fresh historical perspective is taking shape.

A key issue at the moment is to consolidate positive trends and furnish them with the character of irreversibility. Precisely this is the chief intention and fundamental idea of our meeting, of the serious discussion permeated with a sense of responsibility. By their very nature, processes of historical dimensions require much time and patience.

The positive changes continue to face numerous threats. All medium- and shorter-range missiles have not yet been scrapped, yet already there are plans to upset the balance again by means of the so-called compensatory conventional "counterarming."

We must make our partners more keenly aware that this road leads nowhwere. It will not consolidate the security of any country; on the contrary, it can delay and make more difficult a breakthrough in an area that is literally a matter of life and death for Europe and the world. Our states call from Warsaw today on all members of the international community to unite their efforts for the consolidation of trust and cooperation. Every country, whether large or small, independent of its social system and its particular features that have arisen historically, can and must adopt a position in this question, and must raise its voice and work genuinely in the interests of peace.

Guarantees of security and balance can be attained through lowering the level of military confrontation, progress in all the disarmament negotiations now under way, and the creation of new platforms of dialogue.

Socialist states give their full allied support to the Soviet Union's strivings to conclude an agreement on a radical reduction of strategic nuclear potentials of the two superpowers. We also regard as crucial the question of stopping the production of chemical weapons and liquidation of its stockpiles.

Europe can and must shake off the fetters of armaments. They confine the scope for economic and scientific-technological cooperation, hamper the development of the natural links between people and states, and make it more difficult to overcome differences of views and prejudices.

Lasers are a useful tool for the surgeon and land surveyor, but a dangerous weapon in the hands of detente opponents. Microelectronics instructs, heals, and relieves human life, but it can also create conditions for precision destruction. In the contemporary European home neighbours should not keep a gun under the pillow. During the construction of this home we wish to see the whole potential of the Helsinki process comprehensively used. After all, it was on our continent that 2 thousand years ago the noncontroversial maxim "Pacta sun servanda"—treaties are concluded to be adhere to—was formed.

We are striving sincerely for the consolidation and deepening of the process of detente, the creation of a sound foundation for confidence. We have affirmed this once again powerfully in the document adopted today. We are prepared to discuss honestly the viewpoints of all interested states. At the same time we consider it a fundamental condition for a dialogue among partners that it takes place on the basis of the unconditional recognition of the inviolability of the territorial-political post-war order in Europe, in agreement with the principle of equal security and respect for the interests of each and every country.

The states of our community have presented of late many valuable, original initiatives to the European forum. Their relevance and importance were affirmed today at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

A new, forward-looking thinking is the crucial basis for the pioneering conception of the common European home. The proposals of the Soviet Union, announced a few days ago by Mikhail Gorbachev from the platform of the Polish parliament, reify how it is to be shaped in future. Coming from the capital of a country which was exposed through wars and invasions to such heavy trials and which is situated at the crossroads of main European thoroughfares, the appeal by our states has particular force.

Dear comrades, far-reaching changes are taking place in the countries of the socialist community. Their highest objective is the strengthening of socialism, the more complete utilization of the material and intellectual potential of our people.

The strategic signposts of our development are common, universally valid ideological principles. The fundamental common ground is internationalism, the unity of the objectives and efforts of the Marxist-Leninist parties, and the fundamental identity of the interests of our states and people.

The decisions we are making, however, are not taken according to a single, absolute pattern. They are rooted in different historically arisen national conditions. The mutual familiarization of experiences and their creative application become the daily practical form of relations which unite us. All this confirms the principles of the equality of our fraternal parties and the sovereignty of our states, and enriches these from day to day with new contents.

The far-reaching restructuring of the mechanisms of our economic cooperation is at present an extraordinarily important task. This was affirmed in the resolutions of the 44th council session of the CEMA in Prague.

We must make speedier progress toward the common market of the European socialist countries. The development of the socialist integration means in the international division of labor the strengthening of positions of each one of our countries and of the community as a whole.

Far-reaching changes are taking place in Poland. This process is not free from various difficult problems caused by internal and external factors. The recent 7th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee has set

the course toward the deepening and acceleration of the reforms, and above all the increase in their effectiveness. The resolutions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU were noted in our party with great attention and full support. This was confirmed convincingly by the official friendship visit of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, which ended yesterday.

It has given our fraternal relations a new content and a warmer temperature and has opened up new prospects for the further rapprochement of our people, parties, and states. The PZPR, the working people, the Polish people consider this visit an historic event.

The alliance and the steadily closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, with the states of the socialist community are the crucial guarantee for a secure, peaceful life and the prosperous development of Poland.

Esteemed and dear comrades, the conviction that the course toward confrontation can but lead to a dead end is gradually strengthening in the world. Mankind suffering the strains of mutual enmity and fear would be in no position to confront the present challenges which are piling up, or to avert the dangers threatening civilization.

The course and results of our deliberation have once again confirmed the cohesion of our alliance in ideology, policy, and defense. The documents we are adopting, affirm most emphatically the peace mission of our states. We hope that the new offer of the Warsaw Pact member-states will be accepted by our partners.

Please permit me to make this toast:

To the unity and cooperation of our Marxist-Leninist parties;

To the indestructibility of the friendship between our fraternally allied states and peoples;

To peace in Europe and the whole world!

Summary of 15 Jul Activities

LD1507202788 Warsaw PAP in English
1904 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 15—The Political Consultative Committee of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty started debates here on July 15.

The meeting is attended by delegations of:

The People's Republic of Bulgaria led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council,

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic led by Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,

The German Democratic Republic led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State,

The Socialist Republic of Romania led by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the State Council,

The Hungarian People's Republic led by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers,

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics led by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and

The Polish People's Republic led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party and president of the Council of State.

The debates are also attended by commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov and the on-going meeting's general secretary, Polish Foreign Vice-Minister Henryk Jaroszek.

Jaruzelski addressed members of the delegations with a welcoming speech.

Today two sessions of debates were held under the chairmanship of Honecker and Jaruzelski. The floor was taken by Gorbachev, Honecker, Grosz, Zhivkov, Ceausescu, Jakes and Jaruzelski.

Tonight, PUWP CC First Secretary and President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski gave an official dinner to mark the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Nicolae Ceausescu delivered speeches.

Jakes Views 1st Day

LD1607073388 Prague CTK in English
0626 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 16 (CTK)—The current session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw positively evaluated the Czechoslovak initiative to establish a zone of confidence on the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes told RUDE PRAVO journalists.

Reviewing the first day of the session, Milos Jakes said the Czechoslovak initiative had been underlined in CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's address. He further said that the meeting takes place in a creative atmosphere which will prevail also at Saturday's meeting

of the heads of delegations—the general and first secretaries of the fraternal parties. Milos Jakes also recalled Czechoslovakia's contribution towards the current session, in particular its share in a proposal to maintain ecological security.

Documents Signed

LD1607091088 Warsaw PAP in English 0842 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16: The conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty ended here. The debaters adopted a communique on the conference and two documents: the "declaration of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty on negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe" and the "consequences of the arms race for natural environment and other aspects of ecological security."

The documents were signed by heads of the delegations of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty Todor Zhivkov, Milos Jakes, Erich Honecker, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Nicolae Ceausescu, Karoly Grosz and Mikhail Gorbachev.

Immediately after signing the documents, the heads of all delegations had a meeting.

Leaders Hold Meeting

LD1607165588 Warsaw PAP in English 1523 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16—After the debates of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty, a meeting was held in which the following leaders took part: General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC and President of the Bulgarian State Council Todor Zhivkov; General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia CC Milos Jakes; General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany CC and Chairman of the GDR Council of State Erich Honecker; General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu; General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers Karoly Grosz; General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union CC Mikhail Gorbachev; and First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party CC and President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

At the meeting, held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the leaders exchanged information on the main lines of actions of fraternal parties and discussed key problems of further tightening of cooperation of states of the socialist community.

Jakes on Main Points

LD1607202688 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Excerpts] The meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee [PCP] ended in Warsaw today. [passage omitted]

Shortly after the meeting ended Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, gave an interview to correspondents of the Czechoslovak media who were accredited to the PCC meeting.

Asked by a Czechoslovak Television correspondent where the main point of the meeting lay, Comrade Milos Jakes replied:

[Begin Jakes recording] The main point lies, I would say, in the fact that the meeting assessed the period since the last PCC meeting, assessed what has happened during that period and the changes that have taken place in the world. It set further initiatives and directions of endeavour by all Warsaw Pact member countries toward reducing international tension in the world, eliminating all fundamental causes of it, reducing arms in the world, in particular atomic arms, and implementing all those initiatives submitted by the individual socialist countries. This is the main point as I see it. In addition, the meeting raised the issue of ecology and adopted a special resolution—all these things will be published—which is aimed at eliminating through disarmament the threat to ecology posed by an atomic war and at tackling all the existing ecological problems. We were, I would say, co-authors or initiators of the resolution which was adoped. [end recording]

Why was the document about the connection between the arms race and ecological security adopted at such a high level; this was the next question put this time by a RUDE PRAVO correspondent. Comrade Milos Jakes said:

[Begin recording] [Jakes] The reason is because this is one of the most impotant issues concerning all the countries in the world. It is true to say that the environment knows no borders hence the need for close cooperation among all countries, regardless of their political system.

[Unidentified correspondent] And our contribution?

[Jakes] Our contribution, as I have already said, lies in the fact that we shared actively, or to put it better, that we bore the main burden of work on this resolution, with the active participation of all other countries. [end recording]

And finally, a question put by a Czechoslovak radio correspondent.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Comrade General Secretary, at the moment the emphasis wth regard to disarmament is being shifted onto nonnuclear means. The meeting adopted a document, a main document, which you signed today, on disarmament and reducing conventional arms. Could you say a few words on the subject?

[Jakes] You know that a follow-up meeting is taking place in Vienna where these problems crop up. This follow-up meeting aims to pave the way toward beginning specific talks on reducing arms in Europe. This is where most of these types of weapons have been stockpiled, and this is the reason why a start should be made here. New conditions have been created for mutual cooperation with a view to eliminating the danger that exists here. Otherwise, I would like to stress in this connection that the issue is not only that there will be a gradual disarmament and arms reduction; this will not happen immediately. It will be a defined process which is also connected with tackling other issues, such as humanitarian issues. These too are the subject of discussions in Vienna, and we have a special interest in seeing that the discussions are concluded as quickly as possible and that this cardinal problem—the problem of reducing arms in Europe, which means both the number of troops and arms—is successfully and effectively tackled. This would open the way for progress in these areas. [end recording]

Grosz Cited on Talks, Minorities

LD1607182788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Our correspondent Jozsef Laszlo reports on the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and the press conference given by Karoly Grosz. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] This afternoon, Karoly Grosz gave a statement to Hungarian journalists at the Hungarian Embassy in Warsaw. He said that Hungary had also initiated the suggestion regarding speeding up negotiations on reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces.

The party general secretary said that in his speech in Warsaw, human rights, respect for the individual, and the collective rights of national minorities were given great emphasis. He stressed that nationalities should be allowed to preserve their mother tongue and their culture, and be able to cultivate relations with their mother country. The realization of these rights, together with the realization of humanism and the guaranteeing of democracy, is primarily the task and responsibility of the country that is the mother country of national minority citizens.

Karoly Grosz also said in his speech that we want to strengthen trust with all the peoples of central Europe. Speaking of the reception given to his speech, he said that no one had protested it; what is more, several people had expressed agreement, including representatives of countries with a sizeable Bulgarian population.

He said that before he had left for Warsaw, the situation of the national minorities living in Hungary had been examined, and a decision made that the supervision of the nationality associations should be transferred from the Culture and Education Ministry to the minister of state, and that greater financial resources would be provided for the work of these associations.

At the Political Consultative Committee session, Hungary recommended the establishment of a separate working commission within the Warsaw Pact to deal with humanitarian questions. The suggestion was accepted. The transformation of the Warsaw Pact organization as a whole had also been discussed.

Karoly Grosz said that he had met Nicolae Ceausescu, but only to the extent of it being an introductory meeting.

Karoly Grosz later held discussions with Wojciech Jaruzelski. This was a customary annual working meeting. It was given significance, Karoly Grosz said, because it is in our interest, and it is our duty to provide accurate information to our allies regarding Hungarian developments, and to discuss the development of relations, though relations between our countries are traditionally good.

Departure of Delegations

LD1607143288 Warsaw PAP in English 1233 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16—Foreign delegations participating in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of states parties to the Warsaw Treaty are leaving Poland after the end of the debates.

Delegations of the GDR, headed by Erich Honecker, Romania, headed by Nicolae Ceausescu and of Czechoslovakia headed by Milos Jakes were bid farewell at the Warsaw Okecie Airport.

Soviet, Bulgarian Delegations Leave

LD1607185388 Warsaw PAP in English 1656 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16—After the ceremony of bidding farewell to CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, the following members of the Soviet delegation taking part in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty left for home: CPSU CC Political Bureau member and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Andrey Gromyko and CPSU CC Political Bureau member and Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov.

The guests were bidden farewell by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner.

Also, the Bulgarian delegation, led by Todor Zhivkov, left for its way home today. The delegation had taken part in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

The delegation was bidden farewell by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Jaroszek Holds News Conference

LD1607221188 Warsaw PAP in English 1814 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16—After the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty ended here, Poland's vice-minister for foreign affairs and general director of the Political Consultative Committee's present session Henryk Jaroszek met with newsmen today at Warsaw's Press Centre.

Henryk Jaroszek opened the press conference by delivering a statement which read, in part:

The session of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty was held at a special moment.

It was the first meeting of this supreme political forum of our alliance.

Not only does the communique contain an assessment of the international situation, but, more importantly, it also outlines directions of actions, suggests specific undertakings and points to tasks which should be fulfilled particularly urgently for the sake of consolidating everything that is positive in international relations and of further reducing and eliminating everything that is negative or does not meet requirements of times.

Recognizing prevention of war and stopping arms race as key issues of contemporary times, states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty defined priority tasks in the field of disarmament: 50-per-cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States, ban on nuclear weapons testing, elimination of chemical weapons, reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe with appropriate reduction of military expenditure.

At the same time, participants at the session noted with concern the threat posed to the process of disarmament by plans to compensate for the missiles scrapped under the INF Treaty with development and modernization of other types of weaponry.

Particularly much attention in contributions by participants, and next in the documents adopted, was lent to issues of security, disarmament and broad cooperation on the European continent.

The allied states confirmed the fundamental importance of pursuing their joint or individual initiatives which were aimed at security and disarmament and which pertained to central and northern Europe, the Balkans and the zone along the line of contact between the two (military) alliances.

The session corroborated conformity of opinions held by all its participants that inviolability of borders as well as respect of existing territorial and political realities, sovereignty and territorial integrity and of other generally recognized norms and rules of the international law were a condition of preserving lasting peace and security on the continent.

The session analysed also the course of the Vienna CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) meeting. An appeal was issued to all participants at the Vienna meeting to display in its final stage political willingness and maximum of constructive effort for the sake of soonest possible settlement of issues yet unsolved.

On their part, states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty pledged to act in precisely this manner.

Leaders of the allied socialist countries pointed to the special importance of observance and materialization of fundamental human rights as well as of developing international cooperation in the humanitarian domain.

The session confirmed the necessity to approach the theory and the praxis of socialism building constructively, to make provisions for changes occurring in the world and to apply in practice best achievements of other nations. Indivisibility and mutual dependence of the world was emphasized.

The birth of the "Statement of states-parties of the Warsaw Treaty on negotiations on reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe" is related to the situation in Europe and to the threats to stability and peace on our continent resulting from accumulation of massive arsenal of most sophisticated weaponry and of potent armed forces of both the alliances therein.

Such situation renders further improvement of international climate more difficult, negatively affects social and economic development of all European states and complicates development of all-European cooperation. And it is becoming a more and more obvious anachronism.

The Vienna discussion on a mandate of new negotiations on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals is nearing an end. Both alliances are preparing for the negotiations and designing their stances and concepts to be presented in the negotiations.

They are also preparing for the second stage of the conference of the 35 CSCE states on confidence and security building measures and disarmament in Europe.

The statement makes a significant constructive contribution to international dialogue on most effective ways and methods leading to lowering the level of military confrontation on our continent and to reducing the threat of an armed conflict of unpredictable consequences.

The states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty declared themselves in favour of commencing new negotiations as early as 1988, and underscored that the priority task of these negotiations is to radically reduce military potentials of both the alliances and to obtain such a situation on the continent in which NATO and Warsaw Treaty states have forces and means indispensable in defence but insufficient to make a surprise attack and carry out offensive operations.

At the first stage of negotiations, we propose to focus on settlement of the following issues:

-First, to attain equal, lowered collective levels of armed forces manpower and conventional weaponry amount for states-parties to both alliances. It would be purposeful, first of all, to focus attention on issues of reciprocal removal of asymmetry and disproportions in specific categories of conventional weapons and armed forces of both alliances.

-Secondly, to prevent surprise attack, particularly by means of establishment of zones of lowered armament level along the line of contact between the two military and political alliances, which would be accompanied by agreed confidence building measures.

-Thirdly, to mutually exchange respective data indispensable to holding negotiations and to set up an effective system of control of the agreement's fulfillment, with the inclusion of on-site inspections with no right to deny them.

The statement meets half-way numerous postulates voiced by our Western partners in the course of disarmament dialogue. There is not a single element in it that would indicate a striving for attainment of unilateral benefits.

As a representative of Poland, I should also like to note with satisfaction the fact that the contents of the statement is convergent with solutions proposed in the Jaruzelski Plan.

The third document adopted at the Warsaw session is titled "Impact of Arms Race Upon Natural Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security."

Our focusing on the military aspect of ecological security results not only from the fact that the document was authored by a body of the military and political alliance. It results first of all from the concern of the public opinion, including the states represented at the conference, over the mounting degradation of natural environment as a result of military activities.

An example of negative ecological consequences of these activities are effects of nuclear weapons testing continued despite efforts made by the Soviet Union and other states of the Warsaw Treaty to ban it completely.

We are declaring ourselves in favour of intensification of international cooperation on issues of natural environment. Wojciech Jaruzelski discussed it a few days ago at the Polish Sejm (parliament).

The states of our alliance manifested on numerous occasions their will to expand cooperation to this effect.

The contents of the documents adopted is subordinated to one major objective, which is to guarantee irreversibility of the achieved change for the better in the international situation, to eliminate confrontational elements, to ensure such dynamics for the positive processes initiated so far that they lead to genuinely deep restructuring of interstate relations, to their demilitarization and further democratization, as well as basing them upon the philosophy of interdependence and cooperation.

The conference of the Political Consultative Committee was a grand event in the life of our states and people. It produced a rich and constructive outcome. We hope that its results encounter a positive rapport in Europe and in the world.

Asked whether Poland had been an initiator of the documents adopted by the session, Henryk Jaroszek said that Poland, being a host of the session, had been the author of all draft documents which were next agreed at subsequent levels until they were approved of by leaders of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

Issues of bilateral relations were not discussed at the session, said Henryk Jaroszek while replying to a question whether the session had taken a stance towards the dispute between Hungary and Romania.

He also added that reports had been presented at the session as to situation in particular countries.

While finding the documents adopted by the session convergent with initiatives of member-states, Henryk Jaroszek emphasized that in the case of the Jaruzelski

Plan this convergence pertained particularly to reduction of conventional weapons, building of confidence measures, elimination of the possibility of a surprise attack as well as to removal of asymmetry in armed forces.

Replying to the question whether the session had resolved to perfect and expand mechanisms of cooperation in military and political domains, Henryk Jaroszek said that it is a continuous process.

The Warsaw session reached a decision about the programme of further tightening of cooperation and of co-ordinating foreign policies of the Warsaw Treaty states. Here, Jaroszek stressed also that the development of political structures of the treaty has continued recently.

Asked to generally characterise the session, Henryk Jaroszek said that the debates were held in an air of sincerity and openness, consolidation of partnership and respect for opinions of each of the states-parties to the treaty.

Henryk Jaroszek said also that the session documents would be passed to the NATO secretary general.

We have declared and we are declaring ourselves in favour of exchanging information between the two blocs on military doctrines and on state of armaments, Henryk Jaroszek added.

Grosz Speaks to Press on Meeting

LD1607231988 Budapest MTI in English 2134 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz termed the two-day session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states as very open and sincere. As he said, all delegations discussed the issues raised in the session with emphasis on their national interests. The session was characterized by intellectual vividness and tinged [as received] reactions to the contributions.

Following the event the HSWP general secretary, answering the questions of Hungarian journalists, said that the session focused attention on reducing the conventional forces and weaponry of the two military blocs. All members states called for eliminating the disproportions through mutual reduction rather than arms buildup. Such process would also affect some socialist countries including Hungary provided that the U.S. F-16 fighter bombers withdrawn from Spain were not redeployed in Italy. If the arms counterbalanced by the Hungarian People's Army were reduced, there could be countermeasures in Hungary as well. But this still requires plenty of consultations on military and technical issues. We expounded in the session that Hungary has an interest in establishing balance of power on a lower level.

Concerning the Vienna conference, Karoly Grosz said that all delegations had come to the conclusion that the conference should be concluded with success and all participants should display appropriate tolerance to this effect. At the same time the Hungarian side clearly expounded: It deeply regretted that there were some proposals in the field of humanitarian issues which ignored the justified position of the overwhelming majority of the participants. The Hungarian delegation stressed that lack of humanity and tolerance gravely endangered the interests of our countries and of Europe as a whole.

The Hungarian contribution laid great emphasis on the issue of human rights including respect for the individual and collective rights of the national minorities. We demanded that the national minorities should be allowed to preserve their mother tongue and culture, and foster relations with the mother country without any disturbance. As we said, we hold it natural that the settlement of the problems of national minorities by asserting humanism and guaranteeing democracy is first of all the responsibility of the country whose citizens the minorities are. We invariably strive for strengthening understanding and confidence with all European peoples and experienced agreement on this issue by countries where many Hungarians are living.

In reply to a question, Karoly Grosz said that he did not hold a meeting with Nicolae Ceausescu during the session of the Political Consultative Committee but, by way of introduction, he exchanged some polite words with the Romanian leader in the interval of the session.

Concerning his talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski, Karoly Grosz said that this was the most suitable time for the annual summit meeting since both of them have a lot to do. Karoly Grosz termed the political and economic relations of the two countries as traditionally good. He added that the leaders of the friendly, allied countries were obliged to directly inform one another of what had happened in their country. The Polish side showed keen interest in the achievements of the HSWP National Conference and the Hungarian side also holds it the best if our friends obtain first-hand information rather than indirect one.

In conclusion Karoly Grosz said that for the same reason he would visit the GDR in September and has received an invitation from Czechoslovakia as well.

Grosz, Jaruzelski Hold Talks

LD1607232388 Budapest MTI in English 2140 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United

Workers' Party and president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, held a friendly meeting and cordial comradely talks in Warsaw on Saturday.

Karoly Grosz and Wojciech Jaruzelski informed one another of the reform processes taking place in the social and economic life of their countries and exchanged views on international affairs.

They stated that the aims and direction of the reforms carried out in the two countries are similar. It is a common intention to make it possible, by extending socialist democracy, for the two peoples to take a more active part in political life, economic work and all walks of life. This paves the way for an increase in the welfare of the Hungarian and Polish peoples, and the fuller accomplishment of socialism.

Karoly Grosz and Wojciech Jaruzelski noted with satisfaction that Hungarian-Polish relations were developing successfully, and underlined the importance of regular exchanges of experience, and the application of advanced forms in political, social and economic cooperation. Hungary and Poland continue to consistently develop multi-faceted ties connecting the two countries and peoples, and look for new possibilities and fields of cooperation complying with the requirements of socialist construction in the two countries.

In the spirit of the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty and the achievements of the 44th CMEA session, both leaders took a stand for further improvements in the many-sided cooperation of the socialist countries. They stressed that commodity and money relations and advanced economic means should be given a determining role in the modernization of CMEA cooperation which is a pressing task.

Discussing topical international affairs, the HSWP general secretary and the PUWP CC first secretary pointed out that the process of renewal gaining impetus in the socialist world and becoming a trend determining the future of socialism is of crucial importance from the aspect of strengthening the international positions of the socialist countries and tackling the political and economic tasks faced by them. They welcomed the decision of the CPSU conference on the consistent continuation of perestroyka and democratization.

The sides emphasized that the processes taking place in the socialist countries have become a factor of international importance. Due to the flexibility and new initiatives of the socialist foreign policy and the new way of thinking initiated by the Soviet Union, favourable trends have strengthened in the world. Hungary and Poland are entirely interested in this process and take an active part in the elaboration and successful implementation of the foreign policy of the socialist states, and the solution of regional and global problems.

The talks were held in cordial atmosphere, in the spirit of traditional friendship.

Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Meeting Continues

SED-SPD Proposal Explained

AU1407173288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jul 88 p 5

[Text] On Tuesday [12 July], Ambassador Peter Steglich, head of the GDR delegation, gave the representatives of the countries participating in the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting a briefing on the SED-SPD joint initiative of 7 July to create a "zone of confidence and security in central Europe." In accordance with this joint proposal, the GDR Government is prepared to immediately initiate talks and negotiations on implementing this initiative with the relevant and interested states, Steglich said. The character and content of the new joint SED-SPD step are aimed directly at strengthening security and enhancing mutual trust in Europe. The individual elements of the proposal have a direct relation to those problems of military detente which are an object of negotiation at the Vienna meeting. Proposals such as the extension of the agreements reached in Stockholm, the further reduction of the lower limits of notifiable maneuvers, the limitation of large-scale maneuvers, or the early exchange of information to increase security concern both the negotiations on new confidence-building and security measures and the future negotiations on conventional arms limitation and disarmament, the mandates of which are being discussed at the Vienna CSCE meeting. The proposal for common European satellite surveillance, which could become an instrument of the CSCE states, also addresses the interests of the CSCE states, Steglich declared.

As to the situation at the Vienna meeting, Ambassador Steglich emphasized that it is necessary and possible to successfully conclude the follow-up meeting with a substantial document in the near future. He referred to recent numerous constructive initiatives and specific steps the GDR and other socialist states had taken to accelerate the negotiations, which are in their final stage. For months, the delegations of individual NATO states have been delaying the conclusion of the negotiations concerning those parts of the final document which concern the problems of strengthening security in Europe and of military detente, Steglich said. The GDR delegation is trying to counteract a further delay in the Vienna meeting and is ready, together with all other delegations, to help solve all the unsettled issues.

Gorbachev Proposals Discussed

LD1507154788 Warsaw PAP in English 1425 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Vienna, July 15: Addressing the plenary session of the CSCE meeting here, Soviet Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev and Polish Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski today spoke about the proposals forwarded by Mikhail Gorbachev in Warsaw.

Konarski also referred to Wojciech Jaruzelski's address, stating that the proposals forwarded in Warsaw were closely linked with the CSCE subject matter. He also expressed a conviction that they would become an important element of all-European disarmament negotiations which are to start in the autumn of this year.

Hungarian Envoy Comments

LD1507102188 Budapest MTI in English 1922 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Vienna, July 13 (MTI)—On Wednesday, at the initiative of the socialist countries, the heads of delegations to the Vienna follow-up conference held a consultation in the committee in which the specialists of the 35 participating states are formulating a plan for the further follow-up events of the CSCE process.

Addressing the consultation, Ambassador Andre Erdos, head of the Hungarian delegation, said that the draft list containing eleven follow-up events was acceptable for Hungary since the topics duly complied with the importance of the Moscow meeting on humanitarian issues. Discussing the cultural aspects of cooperation in Europe, Ande Erdos stressed the significance of the symposium to be held in Kracow on cultural heritage, and urged to finalize the mandate of this consultation as soon as possible. The head of the Hungarian delegation emphasized that the forums attended by both the representatives of the governments and experts in the various fields of cooperation are particularly effective and useful events. He took a stand for more openness and more flexible organization in the follow-up events, in compliance with the traditions and procedural rules of the CSCE process. The ambassador urged to formulate [as received] the evaluation to be included in the closing documents of the three events held between the Madrid and Vienna follow-up meetings, including the cultural forum in Budapest.

Cooperation Protocol With DPRK Signed

SK1407042588 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0415 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Pyongyang July 14 (KCNA)—A protocol of the 15th meeting of the standing committee of the scientific and technological cooperation between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was signed in Tirana on July 7.

It was signed by the DPRK ambassador to Albania and the secretary general of the committee of science and technique of Albania.

Alia Greets Mitterrand on National Day

AU1307184888 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram of congratulations to Francois Mitterrand, President of the Republic of France:

It is my particular pleasure, on the occasion of the national day of France, to convey to you, and through you to the French people, warm greetings and best wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between Albania and France will continue to develop in the future to the benefit of both our peoples.

Comparison of Editorials on Sofia Balkan Meeting

AU040/160088 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 29 June carries on page 4 a 1,000-word editorial entitled "Constructive Contribution to Strengthening the Atmosphere of Cooperation and Good Understanding in the Balkans." The ZERI I POPULLIT editorial has been compared with the ATA version published in the 30 June 1988 East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 1-2, and found to be identical, except for the following passage which is not part of the ATA item but is included in the ZERI I POPULLIT version:

Page two, at the end of the last full paragraph in column one, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional passage: ...other important activities. Among other things, it was decided to hold a meeting of transportation ministers in Yugoslavia in December, 1988; to hold a meeting about protecting the environment in Bulgaria in November, 1988; to hold a meeting of ministers of the economy or foreign trade in Turkey in the first 3 months of 1989; and to hold a meeting about industrial cooperation and the transfer of technology in Romania in 1989. Similarly, an agreement was reached to form a working group to study all aspects of the creation of a Balkan economic research institute in the Greek capital, Athens. Proposals and recommendations were also advanced to further promote and embody the spirit of the communique of the meeting of foreign ministers in Belgrade.

With a number...(providing additional passage)

Alia Greets Iraq's Husayn on National Day

AU1607200088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following message to Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq:

The national day of the Republic of Iraq gives me the opportunity, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and personally, to send my sincere greetings to you and best wishes to the friendly Iraqi people for their well-being and the country's prosperity.

Alia Speaks at Council of Ministers Meeting

AU1707132388 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 17 Jul 88

["Press Review"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In its editorial, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes that recently the Council of Ministers in an extended meeting analysed the fulfilment of the first 6-month plan and the tasks set for the year 1988. Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the CC of the party, participated in this meeting and held a speech. The editorial emphasizes that the working masses of the country during the first six months of the year marked a series of achievements. The working class gave more industrial production than during the same period of the previous year. The targets in industry, transport, husbandry, etc., were better met, meanwhile the builders continue with intensity the work for the construction of several important projects. [passage omitted]

Leadership Attends Warsaw Pact Meeting
LD1407163688 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] A Czechoslovak delegation headed by Comrade Milos Jakes has left Prague by air for Warsaw to attend the regular session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. Also in the delegation are Comrades Gustav Husak, Lubomir Strougal, Vasil Bilak, Bohuslav Chnoupek, and Milan Vaclavik.

Returns 16 Jul
LD1607152088 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] The Czechoslovak delegation headed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, which had attended the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, returned from Warsaw to Prague today. Also in the delegation were members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, president of the Republic; Lubomir Strougal, federal prime minister; and Vasil Bilak, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, along with members of the CPCZ Central Committee, Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs; and Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense.

At Ruzyne Airport in Prague the delegation was welcomed by members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee Ladislav Adamec and Jozef Lenart, as well as other officials.

Dubcek Termed 'Manipulable Puppet'
AU1807121788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by Arnost Bak and Jaroslav Kojzar: "How They Manipulate...Alexander Dubcek; Was it Really Mere 'Misinformation'?"]

[Text] A few days ago the Italian RAI television network announced a "sensation"—the broadcast of an interview with former CPCZ Central Committee First Secretary Alexander Dubcek, allegedly recorded (oh wonder of wonders!) by Soviet Television. According to REUTER, the publicized interview was broadcast in three evening programs from Rome; whereby the Italian television maintained that this was "a sensational step forward in glasnost in the Soviet Union. "It could be a sign of his (Dubcek's) imminent rehabilitation," it stated!

The next day one of the Italian RAI television network staff ("who wanted to remain anonymous") admitted to REUTER: "We were misinformed...the interview was not broadcast in the Soviet Union." He owned up: "It seems to have been granted to the Austrian Television. I do not know how this could have happened," he added. We do not know whether the RAI management admitted presenting the Austrian source as a Soviet source to its viewers. Anyway, this is obviously not essential; the main point is: Was it really a mere error? Or was the whole thing intentional?

The fact remains that during the last few months citizen Dubcek (who left the Czechoslovak political stage for good in 1969) has been granting one interview after another. In these interviews he has been increasingly repeating himself: Everything he did in 1968 was right, he now alleges; already at that time he was engaged in restructuring; he had not made a single mistake; he had everything firmly in hand; in fact, the antisocialist forces were a myth; and so forth.

On the one hand he agrees that things have been accomplished in our country during the last 20 years (as he said on Austrian Television), while on the other hand he denies this (to LIFE magazine and the Voice of America). On the one hand he claims: "If one can call what I have lived through during the last 20 years life, then all I can say is that I was striving to keep alive (Voice of America)." But on the other hand he talks of having worked as a leading mechanic in the forestry sector near Bratislava, and says that he has a weekend cottage and a sailboat; that his sons have finished their university-level studies (LIFE); that his wife and granddaughter are getting ready for a trip to Yugoslavia (Austrian Television) and he himself to Bologna, where he will receive an honorary doctorate from the university there. He criticizes the environmental situation in Bratislava (Austrian Television), forgetting that the foundations for the concept he is now disparaging were laid at the time of his own political activities in the city; and so forth.

His performance is that of a good actor; he even kowtows to the audience: If we are to believe the foreign press, in his interview for the American magazine LIFE he brags that he had not been far from becoming an American! His elder brother fell, while fighting in the Slovak national uprising, "as an American, as a Slovak born in Chicago," he says. And he himself? "When our parents (who had emigrated—RUDE PRAVO editorial note) were on their way back to Czechoslovakia from the United States, my mother was already pregnant; so actually I, too, began my life there." Asked whether he is keeping in touch with his fellow-citizens, he replies: "My contacts with the rank-and-file citizens are very good. (...) I always talk to them on the street when I take out the garbage." And so on, and so forth.

A notorious theme of his interviews is, of course, slander of everything connected with our domestic policy, with our reforms. At the same time his demands that he be politically rehabilitated are all the more categorical. That is also why he speculates with the Soviet changes. When the LIFE reporter asks him whether he has met Mikhail Gorbachev, he mysteriously replies: "Not yet." [boldface word as published]

He goes on and on, in the same vein. The words he is so generous with are filled with megalomania. It is always "I myself, I, I." In one of the interviews he even went so far as to unhesitatingly liken himself to Bela Kun and Nikolay Bukharin. No sign of modesty, no word of self-criticism.

That is also why they are letting him talk into a microphone. It is unimportant that (as a rule) it is undignified. But his vanity has been fully awakened: people have again begun to show interest in him. In his foolish blindness he has obviously overlooked the trap—he has again become a manipulable puppet...as in 1968.

This is how the provocation with his alleged interview for the Soviet television could so easily come about.

The Moor is still doing his work; today it is quite simple—to drive a wedge between restructuring in our own country, and Soviet restructuring. This fully justifies our doubts whether the "sensation" on Italian Television was really mere "misinformation," as Rome has so unconvincingly tried to present it.

Chnoupek Writes on Disarmament

LD1507215788 Prague CTK in English 0858 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 15 (CTK)—At present, in fact for the first time in the whole post-war period, the majority of states begin to take steps towards easing tension or at least stabilizing international relations, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek wrote in the latest issue of the Czechoslovak monthly MEZINARODNI VZTAHY (International Relations).

The foreign minister underlined that this means that there exist prerequisites for disarmament and the strengthening of peace. It can be said that all states—large and small, advanced and developing, associated in blocs and neutral—show interest in the peace process. Czechoslovakia's active contribution to these efforts is the proposal for establishing a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, put forward by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes last February. The proposal has been fully supported by the socialist countries. Representatives of the NATO states, though they remain reserved so far, regard the proposal as a 'goodwill experiment' orientated on the future. The proposal has met with positive response in the neutral and nonaligned countries of Europe as well as in a number of developing states which are of the opinion that some of its aspects could be applied in settling regional conflicts, the minister wrote.

It is essential that the broad public as well as the political circles adopt the ideas of the proposal as only in such case the Czechoslovak initiative will become a material force, the Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed.

Honecker Returns From Pact Meeting in Warsaw
LD1607131288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1141 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 16 Jul (ADN)—The GDR delegation led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, returned to Berlin at midday.

The delegation was greeted on its arrival at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by SED Central Committee Politburo members Horst Dohlus, Werner Felfe, and Joachim Herrmann, who are Central Committee secretaries; Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Erich Mueckenberger; and State Council Deputy Chairman Dr Guenther Maleuda and other public figures.

Janusz Obodowski, PPR ambassador in the GDR, was also present.

Honecker Welcomes Gorbachev Proposals in Sejm
AU1507183088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jul 88 p 2

["He." commentary: "Up-to-Date Proposals for Reducing Confrontation"]

[Text] "The GDR welcomes as very up-to-date the new proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev in the PPR Sejm to reduce military confrontation." This is stated in Erich Honecker's declaration, which we published in yesterday's edition.

The new Soviet initiative is up-to-date, above all because there must be no pause after the start of disarmament. The USSR and the United States have started reducing and destroying their intermediate-range missiles. They achieved agreements in principle on a 50-percent reduction in their strategic offensive weapons. The Soviet initiative is aimed at confidence-building, strengthening the security in Europe, and continuing the disarmament process.

As a country situated immediately at the dividing line between the two military blocs, the GDR takes a great interest in a European center to reduce the danger of war, which includes the possibility of continuous cooperation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In Erich Honecker's declaration, is it emphasized that the respective Soviet initiative is very closely linked to the proposals made by the GDR, and to the proposals of the PPR and the CSSR.

Our Republic supports the USSR's project to convene a European summit, the agenda of which is planned to include the question of how it will at last be possible to let words be followed by deeds in reducing conventional arms.

With great attention and approval, the GDR has taken note of the USSR's proposal to withdraw air forces from advanced positions in East Europe, as long as NATO does not transfer its 72 F-16 fighter bombers to Italy as planned. The GDR generally supports the three-stage plan to reduce conventional armed forces and arms. The first stage provides for the elimination of all imbalances in troop strengths and the most important arms. This already suffices to knock the bottom out of the argument about continued conventional superiority, about the "threat," which is frequently used in the West. It is known that this argument serves as a "reason" for the so-called strategy of deterrence, for clinging to nuclear weapons, even for modernizing them, which would be equivalent to the continuation of the nuclear arms race.

Starting from the level that will be set after the asymmetries have been eliminated, then—this is the second stage—the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO states are to be reduced by 500,000 on each side. The third stage is the further reduction to a level at which the armed forces of both sides have only a defensive character. It is of great importance that, from the beginning onward, and not as late as this third stage, priority be given to the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons, tactical offensive air forces, and tanks.

The new Soviet proposals, which are fully supported in Erich Honecker's declaration, are aimed at confidence, security, equal rights, and good-neighborly relations in our European house. The foundation of the Helsinki Final Act must remain unchanged: the recognition of the post-war territorial-political order. In this context, in the Sejm Wojciech Jaruzelski paid tribute to the alliance and close friendship between the GDR and Poland. He turned against those in the West who dream of the allegedly continued existence of a Germany with the borders of 1937.

Such political dreams are in contrast to peace, to the reduction of confrontation, just like the legend about a threat and the nuclear strategy of "deterrence." What matters is disarmament, according to the principle of equality and equal security, dialogue, and constructive cooperation.

Results of Prague CEMA Session Approved
LD1507101888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Jul (ADN)—The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers have issued a joint statement on the results of the 44th CEMA session in Prague, held 5-7 July 1988. Here follows the text:

The SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR Council of Ministers received the report on the 44th CEMA session and endorsed the activity of the GDR delegation led by Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

The decisions of the 44th CEMA session demonstrate the determination of the member countries to achieve a qualitatively higher level in their cooperation, above all in fulfilling the complex program of scientific-technical progress. The focus here is on joint steps for the development and application of key technologies, in particular microelectronics.

The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers attach great significance to the further perfection of cooperation within CEMA. They are in favor of a future unified market of CEMA countries. The GDR will actively participate in the necessary studies for this far-reaching task.

The collective concept, approved by the 44th CEMA session, concerning the international division of the labor for the period up to 2005 and the program of cooperation with the SRV, the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian Peoples Republic, laid down the basic directions of the further deepening of cooperation for all participating countries, proceeding from the demands of the comprehensive intensification of production and the further enhancement of the economic efficiency of the division of labor. It forms a good basis for a timely start to the coordination of economic plans for the period 1991-95.

This will help to further promote the planned character and stability of reciprocal economic relations.

The GDR will resolutely implement the policy stipulated by the 11th SED Congress and thus make its contribution to the strengthening of socialism and peace preservation.

In close alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries, it will actively participate in the fulfillment of the tasks arising from the stipulations of the 44th CEMA session.

FRG Environment Minister Gives News Conference

AU1507134988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—Klaus Toepfer, FRG minister of environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety, assessed his talks in the GDR as businesslike, qualified, and useful in every respect. On Wednesday [13 July] at an international press conference in the FRG permanent mission, he said that the visit confirmed the stability of the environmental protection agreement between the two German states that had been concluded in September 1987 and demonstrated the increased normality in their relations. Their cooperation contributes to making peace more secure and to preserving a livable environment for future generations. This can be achieved only in patient talks and by respecting the accomplishments of both sides.

The FRG minister reported that a catalogue was drawn up as a result of his GDR visit, which contains guidelines for the further specification of the 1987 environmental protection agreement. It covers tasks for reducing air pollution, reducing damage to forests, utilizing technologies to recycle waste materials, and for nature and water protection. On its basis, experts from both sides formulated working programs that are to be exchanged by the end of August.

Cooperation in the field of environmental technologies is not a one-way street, the minister stressed in answering corresponding questions of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and of the GDR television service. He sees good opportunities for this in application research. Thus, the FRG has developed methods of circulating fluidized bed firing, in particular for inerts-rich and saliniferous coal. On the other hand, technologies for flue gas treatment in smaller firing facilities used in the GDR and also GDR experiences in ground water management in open-pit mines and their recultivation could be of interest for the FRG.

Toepfer said that the problem of the border along the Elbe River was also broached in connection with questions of water protection. Both sides agreed on specific tasks for water protection without deviating from their basic standpoints on the question of the course of the border.

Joint German Effort on Environment Needed

AU1507133588 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Jul 88 p 10

[Count Carl Hohenthal report: "Environmental Protection in the GDR"]

[Excerpts] Much attention was paid in the GDR to the visit of FRG Environmental Minister Toepfer. One of the reasons for this is that the GDR is overtaxed with regard to solving its environmental problems. The pollution of air and water and the new and old waste dumps creates complicated problems that do not stop at borders and walls and can only be solved only together.

The GDR has to act on environmental protection. It is no longer a question of preserving some endangered animal species or other. To date the GDR has paid far more attention to its economy, that is, the fulfillment of plan targets and production quotas, than to the well-being of man and animal. The quality of many waters has deteriorated to such an extent that they cannot even be used as industrial water. The waste dumps are accumulating to dangerous heights in the compact country, which is poor in raw materials; this happens not least because of the EC, which likes to sell its own wastes to the state that is hungry for foreign currency. "We like to buy the waste from the EC, because that will only hurt us tomorrow," the cabaret artistes sing in the famous East Berlin "Thistle." Recyclable materials can be extracted

from the wastes only by means of top modern combustion technology. The air is being contaminated so much by the thick, brown damps of sulfur dioxide welling out of the stacks of the brown coal power plants without being filtered first and by the exhausts from the antediluvian two-cycle engines from GDR production (Wartburg and Trabant) that it is hardly breathable. It is said that the average age in the Leipzig-Halle industrial area is 5 years lower than in the rest of the GDR. For 50 km around Halle, at least 1.5 million tonnes of sulfur dioxide are emitted every year. This is about 25 times the amount of pollutants produced in West Berlin at present. The West Berlin electric power stations are now investing DM2 billion in desulfurization equipment alone in order to halve this comparatively small amount.

This figure shows how expensive environmental protection is. Therefore, the true reasons for the GDR's hesitation in dealing with Bonn seem to be of a financial nature. At present the "rich" FRG can afford environmental protection only in its own country; the poor GDR cannot even afford it at home. If it were to raise loans, this would only mean postponing the problems, because the money would have to be paid back at some time or other. [passage omitted]

Toepfer cannot do much. "Participation" is the magic word. Even if there is no money available, FRG companies that specialize in environmental protection could decide on their own to shift some projects to the GDR. This would help both sides. The scientists do their research work in the GDR and the GDR gets a clean environment. But, which company would be willing to do this? Who would pass on methods without wanting to collect high royalties? Over the past 2 years foreign currency revenues have not experienced a favorable development because of decreasing raw material prices and a decline in intra-German trade. Therefore, much will depend on the GDR's own research.

The GDR has good scientists. But in the same way as the implementation of plans in the economy does not work in socialism and everything always ends up with management of deficiencies, there will probably not be any quick successes in environmental protection, either, even in case of great efforts on the part of the GDR. Thus, the GDR will secretly continue to count on help from the West, while Bonn is hopefully looking forward to East Berlin's agreement to such cooperation. Such hoping for each other also strengthens trust in each other. And therefore, the talks were probably indeed as useful as Environment Minister Toepfer claimed.

Environmental Policy Discussed With Mozambique

AU1207163488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, discussed the foundations of environmental policy and their close intertwinement with economic and social policy with Joao Kachamila, minister of mineral resources of the People's Republic of Mozambique, in Berlin on Sunday [10 July]. The interlocutors agreed that further steps to reduce arms, especially nuclear ones, and to create a system of security are required. This is the most important thing in environmental protection.

With satisfaction, the interlocutors paid tribute to the successful extension of the relations of many years between the two countries and expressed the readiness to further develop them. During the friendly meeting, experiences in directing and planning tasks of environmental policy were exchanged. [passage omitted]

Minister Reichelt explained the comprehensive legislation on preventive environmental development and environmental protection, which is perfected according to the level of social development and new scientific-technological findings. [passage omitted]

The Mozambican minister underlined the urgent need for adequate legal regulations in his country, especially regarding the preservation and protection of natural resources, as well as the treatment of all kinds of waste products and harmful substances, and their disposal. [passage omitted]

On the same day, Dr Jochen Kratzke, state secretary in the Ministry for Coal and Industry, held a talk with the African guest on questions of cooperation in developing the coal industry in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Discrimination Against African Miners Denied

AU1507164688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jul 88 p 5

[Text] Maputo (ADN)—In an interview with AIM, the country's news agency, Aguiar Real Mazula, minister of labor of the People's Republic of Mozambique, decidedly rejected newspaper reports which claim that the Mozambican miners currently working in the GDR are discriminated against and, on account of allegedly bad working and living conditions, want to leave the country and return to the South African mines in which they previously worked. The South African economic paper BUSINESS DAY reported from London that miners from Mozambique work in the GDR and get lower wages than their compatriots who work in South Africa. The FRG paper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE took up this false report and published a highlighted article on it on the front page, under the headline "Black Miners Want To Leave GDR."

Aguiar Real Mazula stated that the BUSINESS DAY article had caused surprise in his country, as the workers from Mozambique get the same wages and benefits as their colleagues from the GDR. None of them had worked in South Africa before.

According to Minister Aguiar Real Mazula, the Mozambican working people in the GDR have a standard of living that is far higher than that of their countrymen in Mozambique, and also of those working in South Africa. They are accommodated in GDR towns and villages, in contrast to their compatriots in South Africa who live in ghettos under very bad conditions.

The contract between the People's Republic of Mozambique on the dispatch of workers is regarded in his country as one of the most advantageous contracts that Mozambique has concluded since its independence in 1975.

Church Reports Health Problems in Uranium Mines
LD1607130488 Hamburg DPA in German
1012 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—In the uranium production areas of the GDR there is "increased concern" among the public due to the "apparently above-average incidence of certain diseases," like cancer deaths in adults, leukemia in young people, and lung cancer and loss of hair in miners. This is revealed in a study published by, among others, the Church Research Center of Wittenberg an der Elbe (GDR). The First German Television (ARD) program "Contrasts" and members of GDR environmental groups have also reported on the same topic.

Health problems and details about the Wismut uranium-producing enterprise jointly run by the Soviet Union and the GDR have been taboo until now for the GDR media. According to Michael Beleites, who compiled the study, Wismut Hospital statistics on typical diseases in the uranium industry are kept strictly secret.

Actual levels of radiation and other harmful kinds of pollution are not publicized in the GDR. The uranium industry in the GDR extends from east of Gera to the western Erzgebirge mountains.

In the Gera area, in Schlema, and in the area surrounding the silt deposit plant and the processing area in Crossen, "very many people" are complaining of "constant tiredness which they do not feel in other places," according to the more than 60-page study. Oberrothenbach, a place which directly adjoins a silt deposit plant "from which radioactive dust is blown and large amounts of radon get into the the atmosphere, is described as the 'tired village.'"

The study continues: "It is not justified to class the concerns of the populace in the area of the uranium industry as exaggerated or unfounded, merely because there is no publicity about it in the GDR. [no closing quotation marks as received]

According to the study, Wismut workers receive, in addition to higher wages and cheaper alcohol, a range of other privileges. These include more annual leave and shorter waiting periods for car purchases. "The official secrecy that surrounds the Wismut plant is part of the social environment. If the word 'Wismut' crops up many evade the issue—'that is too much of a hot potato.'" The advertising brochures of the enterprise's career guidance office do not say a word about what is actually extracted there. The word "uranium" is mostly replaced by "ore" or "metal." The study mentions that, at an event on 1 May last year in Gera, Wismut workers were thanked for their exemplary plan fulfillment in mining "ore for peace."

"One of the tasks of the churches should also be to direct attention toward the victims, so as to specify responsibility. Not only the number of victims, but also the indescribable sorrow that people have to bear, people who are for example gradually dying of leukemia or lung cancer, must find our consideration," the study says. [passage omitted]

Such a broad study as that from the Church Research Center in Wittenberg is considered an absolute rarity in the GDR. Concern among the population about environmental pollution and about dangers to health usually comes to light through reports from church and environmental groups. According to such reports, supported by doctors, the lignite mine in Espenhain, Leipzig Bezirk, for instance, is given as one of the causes for pseudo-croup in small children and increasing numbers of stillbirths among animals.

Marjai, CEMA Delegation Return From Prague

LD0707190588 Budapest MTI in English 1800 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 7 (MTI)—On Thursday the Hungarian delegation headed by Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and Hungary's permanent CMEA representative after participating at the 44th session of the CMEA returned from Prague. The members of the delegation included Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Janos Hoos, chairman of the National Planning Office, Pal Tetenyi, chairman of the National Commission of Technical Development, Gyula Horn, state secretary of foreign affairs and Istvan Szigeti, the deputy of the permanent CMEA representative.

Grosz, Delegation Return From Warsaw Meeting

LD1607232488 Budapest MTI in English 2153 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 16 (MTI)—The party and government delegation, which had attended the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states from July 14 to 16 under the leadership of Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and chairman of the Council of Ministers, returned from Warsaw to Budapest Saturday night.

The delegation included Matyas Szűrös, CC secretary, Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister, and Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, members of the HSWP CC. Imre Szokai, deputy head of the CC'S Foreign Affairs Department, and Istvan Oszi, deputy foreign minister, took part in the work of the session as experts.

Defense Minister Gives 'Exclusive' Interview

AU1707151188 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian No 334 12 Jul 88 pp 49-52

[Interview with Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian defense minister, by special correspondent Miroslav Lazanski in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Budapest—The building of the Defense Ministry of the Hungarian People's Republic is so to speak in the center of Pest, close to the Bank of the Danube. Only a military sentry, wearing a white police helmet, indicates that an important military institution is right here, where many pedestrians pass. Two military policemen wearing white gloves stand at attention by the entrance door. In the lobby, there are two red lamps in the shape of candles next to the plaques in memory of distinguished Hungarian military leaders. All the rooms in the Defense Ministry have numbers, except the minister's private office. Exactly at 0800, the padded door opens, and Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, defense minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, smiles in a friendly way. Major General Egon Szabo, of the Defense Ministry Press Department, is with him.

Colonel General Ferenc Karpati was born on 16 October 1926 in Putnokon, district of Borsod. He comes from a worker's family, and his father participated in the October Revolution in the USSR as a fighter in the Red Army and member of the Bolshevik Party. The entire Karpati family joined the ranks of the Hungarian Communist Party in 1945, and the young Ferenc was at the head of the local youth organization. Three years later he enrolled in the central party school in Budapest and after graduation, he became a political officer of the Hungarian People's Army. From 1951 to 1953 he studied at the Military Political Academy, and from 1955 onward he stayed in the USSR studying at the Lenin Military Political Academy. Because of the events in his homeland, he returned on 30 October 1956. Two years later, the Central Committee appointed him secretary of the party commission in the Hungarian People's Army. Later, he became head of the Army Political Administration, and in 1986, defense minister. He is a member of the MSZMP Central Committee, and he is a people's deputy at the same time. He was married in 1954. His wife is a teacher (a party member since 1954). Colonel General Ferenc Karpati has two sons: Ferenc Junior is a civil engineer, and Lazslo is a journalist.

Although his entire military career shows that he is a skilled politician, the defense minister of the Hungarian People's Republic does not like to give interviews. His exclusive interview to DANAS is his first interview to a foreign journalist; he had refused interviews to American and West German journalists.

DANAS: Comrade General, the interest in Hungary has been great in the world and in Yugoslavia lately. Your experiences, reforms, and political life in general are at the center of world media attention. Where is the place of the Hungarian People's Army in all this, how does the Army look on the reforms and democratization of society?

Karpati: The Army personnel are almost 80 percent party members, and undoubtedly the Army is in favor of reforms. Our officers know their party task, and the recent party conference provides evidence. Both party members and non-party-members support consistent reforms in the economic and political fields. But we must not regard reform as if everybody thinks the same on every detail. There will be diversity, there will be different discussions of the reforms, but this is a natural thing. Much has changed within the Army ranks and will further change. We are much more open. You see, we did not use to answer such questions. What used to be taboo now no longer is.

DANAS: Can it be said that the Hungarian People's Army is now entering a stage of openness and perestroyka [Russian word for restructuring used]?

Karpati: Our perestroyka did not begin now, it goes back to the end of the fifties. Crude errors occurred earlier, which all led to the events of 1956. We have learned a great deal from all that. We have reorganized both the party and the Army; new people have come. We have realized the mistake of taking over some things automatically from other countries, which is not sound. It is essential for us that the citizens should consider the Army their own. Of course, the Army also has its place in the political life of the country, and we have adopted new decisions on the further development of the Armed Forces.

DANAS: Have you taken your military doctrine from other countries? Hungary is a member of the Warsaw Pact. Can one speak about a Hungarian defense doctrine, and what is original in your concept of a defense war?

Karpati: As a sovereign country, our country naturally has its national military doctrine. This fully reflects the efforts that we wish to realize within the Warsaw Pact. This is possible because the political side of doctrine within the Pact is uniform, and the elements of the military side do not oppose the strategic perceptions in the Warsaw Pact. The fundamental element of this doctrine is to prevent aggression, avoid war, and protect the borders and the air space of our state. Otherwise, the guidelines of our military doctrine are manifested in the organization of our Armed Forces, the military training, equipment, deployment of troops, the legal position of national defense.... It is certain that the content and the concept of the doctrine is essentially defined by our geostrategic position, political links, and economic, demographic, and other national factors.

DANAS: How does Hungary assess the Warsaw Pact's initiatives for reducing military budgets and a simultaneous dissolution of the two military alliances?

Karpati: Our position does not differ from the position of our allies: The increase in Army expenditure could be stopped as the political climate becomes more favorable and steps are made toward disarmament. Our side supports the mutual reduction of defense costs. We think that all the European countries, nonaligned and neutral, have an important interest in the abolition of military alliances, the organizational forms of military confrontation. This would have positive consequences for the process of disarmament and for greater confidence. Therefore, it is our united, allied position that the dissolution of the two military alliances would be an important factor in reducing tension. Unfortunately, this is not yet a reality. Greater confidence is also achieved through an expansion of contacts, and military meetings are also important. The dialogue has started. The comparison of the military doctrines of the two military alliances may reduce the danger of mutual military confrontation. We have always actively participated in such initiatives. In comparison with other European countries, Hungary does not spend too much on its Army. In the committee sessions before the fall session of the parliament, I invoked the fact that our direct expenditure is 35 million forints. Considering the economic situation in the country, we know that we could well use this money for other purposes.

DANAS: Does this mean that you have any problems in parliament when the military budget is voted on?

Karpati: Where are there no problems? Surely you have them, too. Just as the work of the parliament changes, so changes occur in the Army, too. Representatives of commissions pose serious questions to ministers and specific answers must be provided, and all these answers must be well supported with arguments. Now that we have a considerable amount of economic problems, parliament must consider: Will it allocate these funds and for what will it allocate them? I can tell you that on several occasions ministers do not get votes for their proposals. Parliament performs its duties responsibly.

DANAS: Has it happened to you as defense minister that you were opposed in parliament and that your proposal was not accepted?

Karpati: No. I have not been in my office for long. I have not yet made any proposals to amend laws. Parliament begins its session tomorrow; you will have an opportunity to see how this is. Questions concerning last year's budget are on the agenda.

DANAS: The intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will be eliminated in Europe. What is the Hungarian position on this, and do you think that a certain relaxation is occurring in Europe? Will you, for instance, reduce the numerical strength of your Army? Will there be a reduction in the numerical strength of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary? Janos Kadar, former MSZMP general secretary, told ASSOCIATED PRESS 2 month ago "that a withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary since 1956 is possible in the foreseeable future, but that an appropriate level of relaxation should first be reached in East-West relations in Europe."

Karpati: There have been no intermediate range missiles on our state's territory. We think that the American-Soviet agreement is very important. A move has been made toward nuclear disarmament, and two classes of nuclear weapons—which in fact were "European weapons"—are being abolished. The danger to the security of our country has also been reduced. This agreement should not be underestimated by saying that it refers to only 3 to 4 percent of the nuclear weapons. It is important that something specific has been achieved and the process must continue. Hungary believes that attention must now be directed to a reduction of conventional forces [konvencionalni potenciali], an abolition of the

disequilibrium [ukidanje asimetrije] through reductions, and a change of military doctrines from an offensive to a defensive nature. We think that the size of the Army may be reduced. In this context and process, one realistically thinks of a withdrawal and reduction of the Soviet units that are in our country. How and when? As Comrade Kadar said: in the foreseeable future. The condition is that the United States must also reduce the number of its soldiers in Europe. We have already presented all this in our proposals at the UN session.

DANAS: Will the Hungarian People's Army make any changes in the short-range ground-to-ground missiles? What will be the essence of modernization, especially as regards the Western doctrine of FOFA (Follow-on Forces Attack)? What will be the substitute?

Karpati: As I have stressed, we are in favor of freezing and reducing conventional weapons, as well as changing the doctrine from offensive to defensive. I think that nuclear forces and offensive weapons must be reduced first. This, of course, includes launchers with which tactical-operative nuclear weapons may be launched. In addition, we are against the so-called parity, as well as against additional armaments, both in the qualitative and the quantitative sense. There is a trend in NATO circles to modernize the conventional forces in the direction of high technology; they strive for new generations of conventional weapons that would substitute for the nuclear missiles to be withdrawn as envisaged by the latest American-Soviet agreement. We are against such modernization and Hungary does not plan any such steps, for they are opposed to our concept of security. But we do not wish to be inactive. We conceive our defense doctrine and the nature of our Armed Forces on the basis of the present hardware, without any new "secret weapons" to repel a possible attack. Of course, this does not exclude modernization and improvement of military equipment that we now possess, and possibly an introduction of some innovations.

DANAS: In Yugoslavia we now possess MiG-29's. Do you plan a similar modernization of your Air Force? Your ground forces possess T-72 tanks. To what extent have you modernized these tanks (with laser rangefinders, target selection computers, suitable ammunition)? Has the Hungarian People's Army obtained the latest Soviet tanks, the T-84 type? Will you change the caliber of your infantry weapons to 5.48 mm? Will Hungarian soldiers get armored vests to protect them from bullets and shrapnel?

Karpati: The technical modernization of our People's Army is a process in which obsolete military hardware is replaced with new and modern types. The military industry of the socialist countries can supply us with weapons which we want when we want them. We have never had a tendancy to procure every new type, or rather to procure the very latest combat means in large quantities. Specifically, as regards the T-72 and T-84 tanks, MiG-29 planes, the 5.48 mm caliber weapons, and armored vests, their appearance or lack of appearance cannot be the basis for any speculation, or rather, we do not yet possess MIG-29 planes or T-84 tanks. At the moment we do not plan to introduce small-caliber infantry weapons, or to apply armor vests. It is possible, when the time comes for such things, that we will not adopt these solutions, but others that will be more economical and suitable for us. Our essential principle is to keep expensive combat means for as long as possible, with a consideration for our military budget, and when supplying our units with new hardware we strive to procure those items that comply best with our principles. All this also depends on our financial situation.

DANAS: NATO is strengthening its forces in the south European theater. Will Hungary be able to maintain appropriate modernization in every field (infantry, artillery, armored units, aviation, air defense)?

Karpati: The strivings of the Western military alliance are known to us, both in general and as regards the south European theater. We also know that the measures and the pace of strengthening differ from one region of Europe to another. We look at NATO and we assess it from the viewpoint of the overall system of Warsaw Pact defense. Therefore, we look at the problem of NATO modernization as our possible answer within the common modernization of the Warsaw Pact forces. [sentence as published] Of course, a part of this business of modernization also concerns our Army in all respects. At what pace we will advance and what financial means we will have has been determined by our party and our government at the level that was deemed necessary. I am convinced that we will continue to obtain everything that is necessary so that our Army may fulfill its tasks in conformity with its allied obligations and as regards the country's defense. We will take all the necessary measures against such moves as the transfer of U.S. F-16 planes from Spain to Italy so that we will not be caught by surprise.

DANAS: Two routes exist for splitting up the south European theater and for breaking into the Plain of Lombardy: through Austria and through Yugoslavia. What are your Army's obligations toward the Warsaw Pact in this respect?

Karpati: The possibilities of an outcome as stated in your question are certainly realistic from a military point of view. However, the basic intention of our Army, emanating from the military doctrine of a defensive nature, is the defense of our country from aggression of any kind. We are preparing for the defense of our borders and in this way for the defense of the Warsaw Pact member countries. We do not want to fight on the territory of other countries. Our obligations are clear and they are reduced to defense.

DANAS: Do you, as minister of defense, consider that these routes can be leaped over with the aid of airborne attacks?

Karpati: In a modern war, with modern means, well-trained soldiers may leap over these routes. However, we have no such plans, we possess no means for anything of the kind, and we do not train our soldiers for it.

DANAS: The changes in the NATO doctrine have also caused a reorganization of the armed forces within the Warsaw Pact. Where does the Hungarian People's Army stand in this respect? Has it also carried out a reorganization?

Karpati: We consider changes in the organization normal; they are a sign of constant development of the Army. In our case, it involves changes in the systematization of the combat means, and innovations in matters of doctrine. We do not hide; at the "Bazalt-87" military exercise at the end of last year, a spokesman of the national Defense Ministry informed Hungarian press correspondents that the military exercise was conducted after a reorganization of the Army and that brigades participated according to their new organization, and we published this in the Hungarian press. After all, we consider the reorganization a process that reached a high level last year. Recently, we put under a joint command our civil defense and the rear defense of our country. It may be expected that a certain reorganization will also take place in the Defense Ministry.

DANAS: Marshal Viktor Kulikov, supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact Forces, visited Hungary three times in a short while. General Lushev, USSR deputy defense minister, was also here. Did they come to study your experience in Army reorganization?

Karpati: These visits are two different things. Marshal Kulikov visited as the commander of the Warsaw Pact Forces in connection with the preparations for the council meeting in Moscow. He also inspected the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. General Lushev came on a friendly visit to our Army. I liked his words, his praise of our Army and economy. General Lushev told me that he regretted that it was the first time he had come to Budapest. Let me conclude: The visits by Marshal Kulikov and General Lushev are two different things.

DANAS: The Warsaw Pact has a new doctrine on the use of armed forces according to which the employment of operative-maneuver groups has a very important place. Are there any changes in the concept of the Hungarian forces considering this new Warsaw Pact doctrine?

Karpati: Last year, the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact adopted a document on the basic principles of the member countries' military doctrine, and this was published. This document also mentions the use of the operative-maneuver groups. But the use of these groups has never been the main strategy of the Warsaw Pact. In view of developments in military science and the study of tactical-strategic analyses, all this is still in an experimental stage. We are concentrating, as we have already said several times, on an efficient strategic defense which would deter or, if need be, halt the aggressor and create conditions for resistance.

DANAS: How long does the training of soldiers last in your Army? What is the manning situation and do you have problems with recruiting people for the military service? Is there interest in a professional career in the Hungarian forces?

Karpati: The training lasts 18 months, since 1980, when we reduced the military service from 24 months. This time is divided into three 6-month periods and the training is based on this division. As far as the manning is concerned, it is according to our plan and real needs, which is to say that we also have units that are deliberately undermanned. This corresponds to our concept of training and our tasks, and helps us to keep the costs down. Soldiers know what their duties to the country are, and the great majority of them conscientiously carries out their duties. Interest in a professional military career is, like in many other countries, on a decline. This does not, however, mean that the number of those who want to attend military schools is small, but only that it is smaller than we expected it to be for a good selection of candidates. The officers and NCO's that have been conferred are fully capable of meeting the demands of their military profession.

DANAS: Do you have problems with peace movements or with the faithful refusing to do their military service?

Karpati: In our view, the peace movement which is administered by the World Peace Council does not differ from our wishes, and regarding this, we stand on the same platform. Although we introduced some form of alternative military service without arms about 10 years ago, we have still not found a proper answer to this problem. We enabled the Nazarenes and Jehovah's Witnesses to reconcile their faith with citizen duties, but many among the Jehovah's Witnesses still regard this as unacceptable. We still favor general military service as long as this is demanded by international relations. Our Constitution and laws sanction this. But, I repeat, we still do not have proper answers. We are unable to find a suitable legal framework for those who claim that they cannot do their military service for personal reasons. Who can? Both the Nazarenes and Jehovah's Witnesses wear uniforms and I can tell you that the Nazarenes are particularly good soldiers. We must bear in mind that all these things concerning alternative military service must be strictly controlled in order not to endanger the country's defense.

DANAS: Has the Army been publicly insulted by the media in your country?

Karpati: No, this has not happened. Mistakes are criticized, but there are no insults. The Army's general activities are not criticized. I would not like to see insults.

DANAS: Who in Hungary is in charge of pronouncing sentences for the criminal act of divulging military secrets, and do you have a military judiciary?

Karpati: Of course we have military courts, and it is these courts that deal with the criminal acts of divulging military secrets, regardless of whether this is done by a military or civilian person. If civilians breach military regulations, then they are always prosecuted by military courts.

DANAS: Are any of your officers educated abroad, and where? To what extent are foreign languages learned in your forces, and do your officers also learn Serbo-Croatian?

Karpati: Our military schools provide both basic and expert training for officers, but there are some fields in which our officers cannot acquire expertise at home, only in foreign schools. Therefore, we have Hungarian officers being trained in the USSR, the CSSR, and Poland. We feel that the learning of foreign languages is inadequate. We think that Russian, as a language of cooperation within the Warsaw Pact, should be spoken by every officer, and we regard this as a very important issue. Serbo-Croatian is not studied by Hungarian officers in schools, but if somebody wants to learn the language for personal reasons there are no obstacles to this.

DANAS: Recently we witnessed the intensification of relations between Hungary and Romania. What kind of military cooperation do you have with Romania?

Karpati: We have good military cooperation. We often hold land and air exercises. In fact, this cooperation is based on continuity, we exchange military cadres. Personally speaking, I have good relations with General Milea, Romanian defense minister. We get along well. Problems exist in other areas. You saw the spontaneous demonstrations in Budapest. In our country, demonstrations are allowed by law, and we are trying to restrain ourselves. We do not want our relations with Romania to deteriorate, and we hope that in the future the problems will be resolved in a civilized manner.

DANAS: How would Hungary react if Yugoslavia were attacked by NATO forces?

Karpati: This is a hypothetical question, and I can only give you a hypothetical answer. We are a socialist country, a member of the Warsaw Pact, and we condemn all forms of aggression. Our position in Europe, our good and increasingly improving connections, our good neighborly relations, they all point to the fact that in a possible crisis situation we would hold a firm view and that in the political and diplomatic fields we would undertake the necessary measure for the halting and condemning this aggression, and the total elimination of its consequences. We would not be the only country in the Warsaw Pact with this view. Aggression against Yugoslavia, our nonaligned neighbor, would also threaten us. This means that we would undertake certain military measures that would be joint and in accord with the measures of our allies. These military measures would ensure the protection of our border and the self-protection of Yugoslavia. Our aid would depend on the political leadership of fraternal, Socialist Yugoslavia, on the LCY, the Yugoslav Government, and on what kind and to what extent our help was requested. The Hungarian troops, our military potential is adapted for the defense of our territory and therefore we could provide only this kind of aid. Of course, in agreement with our Yugoslav comrades and our allies. But the Yugoslav People's Army is strong, its units are capable of independently and successfully opposing any aggression on your territory.

DANAS: Finally, do you have mountain units, and where would you use them in a possible war?

Karpati: No, we do not have special mountain troops because we do not have high mountains. True, in regular training we teach some aspects of mountain combat, of forest and mountain combat, above all for defense purposes. But this is not special training, this is only training to meet the geographical conditions in Hungary. This training is for defense because our main concern is the defense of our country. We will not attack anybody....

Further Coverage of Gorbachev Official Visit

Gorbachev Discusses Youth Issues

LD1507170688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Let us return to yesterday's events: A journalist of the SZTANDAR MLODYCH [Youth Banner] asked Mikhail Gorbachev what youth issues he raised in his conversations with Wojciech Jaruzelski.

I would like to tell you frankly that for us the problem of involving our youth in restructuring and renewal is a fundamental question, replied Mikhail Gorbachev. If our youth stands aside from this process, if it merely observes it or participates only passively, then we will not cope with today's tasks. If we do not solve the issue of the active participation of young people in restructuring and renewal, then we will not be in a position to raise successors, who will continue to take on the burden of responsibility for the face of our states. That is why this problem took priority in all our conversations.

Addresses Journalists in Warsaw

LD1507172588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1623 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 15 (TANJUG)—Soviet party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev told journalists in Warsaw today he was not afraid that his popularity would turn into a new personality cult.

"Everything that we are doing now is being done against that. We are trying not only to prevent a repetition of the personality cult but also of all its accompanying occurrences," he said.

Gorbachev explained that the personality cult was accompanied by directive and administrative methods of management and bureaucracy.

He believes that democracy, along with the people's engagement, will strike a blow to bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

In regard to popularity, Gorbachev said a normal view should be taken on it and the people's support confirmed with everyday work, not by organising one's own popularity.

Constant contacts with people is not just a political game. It is necessary to know their mood, check decisions in practice and correct them on time, Gorbachev said.

Activities Reviewed

LD1507202588 Warsaw PAP in English 1946 GMT 15 Jul 88

[By Miroslaw Stanczyk]

[Text] Warsaw, July 15—Surely no other outstanding politician visiting Poland managed before to win during quite short, or even briefest possible encounters as much fondness of Warsaw residents as Mikhail Gorbachev did.

I personally had the opportunity to take part in those encounters as I drove across Warsaw in a press car immediately preceeding the motorcade which carried the Soviet delegation.

It was no easy task to gain access to all the places where Mikhail Gorbachev stopped over and talked to residents of Poland's capital. Many was a person who wanted to say as little as a single word to Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife.

According to my private count, in the course of his two-day visit in Warsaw the Soviet leader stopped over 30 times to greet crowds of cheering crowds. And everybody wanted to shake hands with the father of perestroyka or to ask for his autograph.

Several hundred copies of the book "Perestroyka and New Thinking" released by the Panstwowy Institut Wydawniczy Publishing House gained extra value in those few days.

The several hundred were copies signed with the author's name. Those boasting a dedication from the Soviet leaders were even more valuable as they were scarce.

Mikhail Gorbachev's interest was apparently aroused whenever he happened to be handed a book with evident marks showing it had been thoroughly studied.

Miroslaw Pawlowski, a pathfinder of the Szczecin voivodship, had no book of his own, so he unfastened his scarf and handed it over heads, with a pen clipped to it, to Mikhail Gorbachev.

To lay a signature on fabric among those crowds was more than a tricky affair, and thus the scarf was returned to the young Pole with an intricate knot tied on it, for a keepsake.

What was the most obvious way to document participation in a meeting with the Soviet leader. Well, of course, ask him to join at a photograph taken of you, for a keepsake again.

This was what a woman did who met the distinguished guests while they were examining the Chopin monument. She wanted her child to stand right between Raisa and Mikhail.

Request granted, but a photographer could not be found. After a moment of confusion, a Soviet reporter took a series of pictures, and the Soviet leader asked the women for her address and promised her photos would be sent first thing back in Moscow.

Mikhail Gorbachev liked to talk to children. He wished a five-year upstart he met at Royal Castle Square that he should grow as tall as the column of King Sigismund 3rd.

Gorbachev asked a group of junior Pathfinders who stood in front of the monument to the young insurgent about their marks at school. Raise your hand if you've got top marks, he told the group and called them "good boys" when he saw all of them raise their hands.

Many people could speak about their joy at an unexpected encounter with Mikhail Gorbachev. But, nonetheless, there are those who did not have as much luck.

A young man who waited for three hours for the Soviet leader to return to his residence could claim bad luck as Mikhail Gorbachev arrived much later than it had been planned, shortly before midnight.

It was too dark for the young man to see "Gorbie", as young people have now come to call Mikhail Gorbachev, inside his big "Zil" limousine. Sadness in the face of the young stranger could only be pitied.

Maybe, had Mikhail Gorbachev known, he would have told the driver to stop and would have spoken as little as a few words to the youth waiting for him. Considering the character of his to-date encounters with Warsaw residents, I think even such situation would not be impossible.

Bid Farewell With Slogans

LD1607164288 Warsaw PAP in English
1546 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16—"Bravo Gorbachev," "Raisa and Mikhail, our friendliness is with you," "Health, happiness and prosperity" are slogans on banners held by the crowd of Varsovians who arrived at the ceremony of bidding farewell to Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa at the Okecie Warsaw Airport.

Young people from the Polonian course of the Polish language and culture arrived with slogans "Gorbie don't stop" and similar slogans in German and French.

Thanks Jaruzelski After Visit

LD1607195388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] On the way from Warsaw to Moscow MIkhail Gorbachev sent a telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski from aboard his aircraft:

On leaving fraternal Poland, I convey to you, the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State, communists, and all working people my most sincere thanks for the warm welcome.

We take with us unforgettable impressions of cordial meetings with talented and hard working people, workers, intelligentsia, and young people. A loud appeal by the socialist states and members of the Warsaw Treaty again resounded from the Polish capital addressed to the nations and governments of West European countries calling for a search for a way to ensure joint security through disarmament and cooperation.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you and all the working people in Poland success in the socialist renewal, happiness, and all the best.

Thus reads the telegram from Mikhail Gorbachev sent from aboard his plane to Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Raisa Gorbacheva Activities Reported

Visits Katowice

LD1507182988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] This afternoon Raisa Gorbacheva and Barbara Jaruzelska arrived in Katowice. Accompanied by a group of former Silesian insurgents and administrators of the region and the city, Raisa Gorbacheva laid flowers in front of the monument to the Silesian insurgents.

Visits Nazi Death Camp

LD1507203188 Warsaw PAP in English
1957 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Katowice, July 15—Raisa Gorbachev and Barbara Jaruzelski went today to the largest Nazi mass-extermination camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau, where Germans had tortured to death over 4 million men, women and children from all conquered countries between 1940-1945.

At least some 14 thousand Soviet prisoners of war and over 5 thousand civilians from the vicinity of the towns of Minsk and Vitebsk were killed there.

Raisa Gorbachev laid flowers at the death wall in the yard of Block 11. She signed her name in the camp visitors' book and underscored the shock she experienced when she saw the horror of Nazi death machine.

Next, Raisa Gorbachev and Barbara Jaruzelski moved on to Brzezinka (Birkenau), where Mrs Gorbachev laid flowers at the international monument to victims of Nazism and by a memorial tablet with scriptures in Russian, one of the 19 tablets in 19 national languages.

When concluding her visit to Auschwitz and Birkenau, Raisa Gorbachev said:

"Half a century has elapsed from the moment the Second World War ended. It would seem that everything has been said about this giant death factory that the Nazi set up in Auschwitz and in Birkenau, that everything has been included in documents, books and films.

"But personal encounter with this site of slaughter does not cease to be a shock which supplies broader and more complete knowledge.

"Apparently, not everything can be said about this crime of genocide. It is our duty to remember those who suffered and were murdered here.

"And it is also our duty to remind others of what Auschwitz was and what went on behind its fences of barbed wire. This memory must be nourished if we want to protect man's right to live and be free..."

In the afternoon, the two ladies as well as persons accompanying them arrived in Katowice by the monument to Silesian insurgents.

Raisa Gorbachev paid a tribute to the memory of Polish patriots by a moment of silence and the flowers she paid at the feet of the monument which is composed of three wings, each of them symbolizing one of the three Silesian uprisings in consecutive years between 1919 and 1921.

While saying good-by to residents of Katowice, the wife of the CPSU CC general secretary said:

"I have visited today sites where heroic and tragic events in the history of the Polish people took place and where their fate coincided with the fate of my people. I am leaving here full of respect and deeply moved," she said.

Gives Letter to Silesians

LD1507225488 Warsaw PAP in English
2125 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Katowice, July 15—During her stay here, Raisa Gorbachev presented a letter from the CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to Silesian population.

"Dear Polish friends," wrote Mikhail Gorbachev in his letter, "with most cordial feelings of fondness for you, residents of hard-working Silesia, I should like to present you, on behalf of Soviet working people, with equipment for reception of our television broadcasts.

"I hope that with its help you will be able to better and deeper understand the things that are of greatest importance to the Soviet people in their lives and learn how revolutionary processes of restructuring are developing in our society.

"We are together passing through extremely interesting, though difficult times. They are the times of a breakthrough which affect in many respects the fate, the future of our peoples.

"The parties of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland have one common objective—to more fully develop the potential of the socialist system. We are progressing towards this objective together, reciprocally exchanging our experiences.

"And here is where room is for television as a medium of intellectual rapprochement the importance of which can hardly be overestimated.

"From the bottom of my heart, I wish you, dear friends, lots of success in attainment of socialist renewal in People's Poland as well as luck and well-being."

On behalf of the [passage indistinct]

16 July Activities

LD1607202588 Warsaw PAP in English
1819 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 16—Raisa Gorbacheva spent Saturday, (July 16) the last day of her visit to Poland, in the company of Barbara Jaruzelska and among representatives of artists. She visited the beautiful baroque palace at Nieborow where she was entertained to a luncheon by chairman of the National Council Culture Professor Bogdan Suchodolski.

Outstanding musicians, writers and activists of the Frederic Chopin Society and the foundation of Polish culture also took part in the luncheon.

PUWP CC Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski and his wife were present.

Raisa Gorbacheva herself is an active member of the Soviet Fund of Culture.

The meeting was held in a very pleasant atmosphere, Professor Bogdan Suchodolski told PAP journalist. This was a real diner d'affaire during which we exchanged views on many questions, including on the work of the Soviet Fund of Culture and the National Council of Culture and Mutual Cooperation.

Both these institutions have convergent concepts expressed in a conviction that cultural activity and participation in culture are not only a matter of big cities but also of small townships and residential quarters.

As for cooperation, we agreed upon the plan of action already during our recent visit to Moscow. Then, we discussed also universal questions, including the problem of the entire European culture and its role in today's world.

I am satisfied very much that I could take part in the meeting.

I am satisfied very much that I could take part in the meeting, [repetitive sentence as received] said Minister of Culture and Arts Professor Aleksander Krawczuk.

The meeting passed in a very open atmosphere. This was a direct and frank talk. Among many issues we touched upon, we were talking about the return to the splendid idea of Lenin who had once forwarded a proposal to erect in Moscow monuments to outstanding Europeans who are especially merited for culture and arts. A monument to Frederic Chopin was to be among them.

Raisa Gorbacheva offered us a gift: A beautiful miniature of Chopin painted by one of unknown Russian masters, said Bogumil Pallasz who is head of the Frederic Chopin Society. We, for our part, have invited Raisa Gorbacheva as an honorary guest to the 12th international piano competition to be held here in 1990.

Comment on Gorbachev Visit, Soviet Relations

Visit Termed 'Historic Event'

LD1507141088 Warsaw PAP in English 1242 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 15—Mikhail Gorbachev's Polish visit was a historic event. Such is a unanimous evaluation by the Polish and Soviet side as well as by the international public opinion which with growing interest followed the dynamic presence of Gorbachev in Warsaw, in the Podhale region, in Krakow and in Szczecin. The visit elevated to a new plane Polish-Soviet relations, which were never in their history so good, sincere and comprehensive.

Officially, it was a visit of the party leader paid at the invitation of General Wojciech Jaruzelski and Poland's supreme authorities, but in its course it became more and more clear that it was a visit paid by the Soviet leader to the Polish nation. The full unanimity of views and programmes of both parties, governments and societies was obvious for all during Gorbachev's four-day visit.

The Soviet perestroyka and Polish socialist renewal are becoming for the world a symbol of the new dynamics of the socialist political system, which boldly and not sparing itself criticism is looking for roads to enter the 21st century. The practice of both states is priceless in those attempts. The whole of that cooperation is held in conditions of full respect of separate circumstances, traditions and social phenomena in Poland and in the Soviet Union.

Even a casual observer could see the closeness and sincerity of contacts of both leaders, could notice that nothing divides but all unites Gorbachev and Jaruzelski. Words of highest recognition expressed about the Polish leader by the man leading a superpower are not only pleasant to Poles but have a vital international importance. This personal aspect of the visit should be treated as one of its vital elements.

The visit overflowed with strongly historical moments. Sides confirmed their political will to remove from the past all that which up till now has disturbed and embittered. On such cleaned soil a new type of Polish-Soviet relations will grow, directed at future and at challenges ensuing from it.

The world received with major interest new peace and disarmament proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Warsaw. These proposals, supported by Poland, are another step forward in the task of building a secure, peaceful European home of which Poland, like the Soviet Union, is an energetic architect.

New Era of Relations Hailed

AU1507134788 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Jul 88 p 1

[Maksymilian Berezowski commentary: "A Wind of Change"]

[Text] The changes in international politics become more tangible and understandable when they assume a visible shape. Mikhail Gorbachev's present visit to our country is definitely a factor which makes the new trends and substance in Polish-Soviet relations visible.

Here we have something more than the refreshing political style for which he has become famous, although the style of government also indicates its substance. We have a new, partnerlike model of relations between Poland and the USSR, two friendly, neighboring, and socialist countries, one of which is a European state with medium status, and the other a world power.

As we know, past relations between our countries since World War I have been varied. They have had their tension, their light and shadow, and their blank spots. The USSR leader's Sejm speech contained many thoughts and opinions on these matters, which show how intertwined the fortunes of both countries are and how much we need each other. These thoughts also illustrate the scale of the renewal of Soviet politics, to which its chief architect referred. These politics have recognized a reform to the Soviet system of authority and a new role for public opinion as the main issue. There is no doubt that such profound changes are also permeating foreign policy and the Soviet Union's relations with its surroundings.

In Warsaw, we have heard from Mikhail Gorbachev's lips that never since World War II have Polish-Soviet relations been as open and full of variety as today. "Today," he said, "equal rights, independence, and the joint solving of the problems before us are an undeniable

rule in our relations. They are becoming free of paternalism and are fully geared to voluntary friendship and partnership based on interests." We should reply to this openness with equal honesty and say that in the past, this paternalism caused annoyance, ruined mutual plans, and caused harmful psychological barriers.

We attach all the greater importance to the Soviet leader's speech because he viewed the achievements so far in modelling these new relations as "but the beginning of a march toward meeting one's partner in a new sense." This far-reaching attitude corresponds to other remarks made by Gorbachev which, although they go beyond Polish-Soviet relations, are no less important for them. He also applied the development of humanitarian cooperation to relations between the socialist states, and said that scientific progress would not be worth much if ethical standards and morality fell at the same time. Such are the horizons of a statesman.

A new approach to political practice is taking shape on this foundation. Gorbachev said on the evening of the first day of his visit: "Respecting various interests and various, sometimes completely different, views and experiences provides the basis not only for mutual understanding, but also for healthy and really friendly contacts. This is also a major way of accelerating our joint march ahead."

Obviously, this point of view, which we fully accept, imposes obligations on both sides. The Poles are naturally aware that this alliance is a two-sided commitment. As Wojciech Jaruzelski said in the Sejm: "The development and success of the great socialist power and its strength and world position lie in Poland's most profound interests. At the same time, a strong, socialist Poland is to the Soviet Union an indispensable friendly neighbor, now and forever."

The new model of our relations, which has matured at the same time as the Soviet perestroyka, gives our alliance new dimensions. This conforms to General Jaruzelski's remark whereby the Soviet restructuring has caused a lively reaction among the Polish people, whom history has made sensitive to dignity and independence.

Mikhail Gorbachev's statement that "a wind of change is cleansing and strengthening Soviet-Polish relations" is a truth of today and an optimistic look toward tomorrow. This is of great importance for both our countries and the whole of Europe in an era of great events.

PAP Criticizes U.S. 'Interference'

LD1807035588 Warsaw PAP in English 1637 GMT 17 Jul 88

[By PAP Correspondent Jerzy Gorksi]

[Text] Washington, July 17—For the observers of political life in Washington THE NEW YORK TIMES's revelation of July 10 about the size of U.S. Federal Government's financing of the opposition activities in Poland, about the fact that nearly all the funds for these activities come from the administration and each expenditure is consulted with the U.S. Department of State—are not a great surprise.

Nevertheless, the confessions of THE NEW YORK TIMES cause amazement here because the recent occurrence of evident improvement in the Polish-U.S. relations had been noticed also in Washington. This was reflected by increasingly frequent visits of representatives of the U.S. Administration and Congress to Poland. Also, more and more Polish delegations have been received by high-level representatives of the U.S. Administration and Congress. Hence, there has been a clear invigoration between the United States and Poland on various international planes.

The administration representatives have recently displayed interest and support for the reform-oriented measures of the Polish Government. Polish Government delegations in Washington increasingly often heard administration's declarations of goodwill and readiness for further development of relations between the Polish authorities and the U.S. Administration.

The news published by THE NEW YORK TIMES that the administration had earmarked millions of dollars from its budget to finance the activities of "groups fighting against the Warsaw government" causes, therefore, sad reflections, especially in the context of the recently concluded session in Washington of the Polish American Committee for Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

Attention is being drawn in Washington to the fact that until now, apart from general calls for democratization, pluralism, national reconciliation in Poland, we have not seen such an overt confirmation of not just political interference in Polish internal affairs but of direct involvement of the U.S. Government.

During the session of the Polish-U.S. science cooperation committee we have learnt what difficulties are faced by the administration when it wants to find a million dollars to finance joint research, create planes for cooperation of Polish and U.S. scientists. It turns out, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES reports, that it is easier to obtain much greater sums for activities which harm the interests of Poland.

Debt Rescheduling Agreed Upon With Banks

LD1507184288 Warsaw PAP in English 1800 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 15—Polish Finance Ministry and Bank Handlowy (commercial bank) officials have agreed with foreign commercial banks the terms and text of an agreement rescheduling Poland's long- and medium-term debts totalling some 9 billion dollars.

The agreement provides for the rescheduling of payments due in 1988-1993 until the year 2002 and, simultaneously, lowers the cost of the debt's servicing. It is expected that the document will be signed in London on July 20.

13 Jun Politburo Report to Seventh Plenum

AU0507060188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jun 88 pp 1, 3-5

["Text" of the Politburo Report delivered at the 13 June session of the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski: "Party Tasks in Intensifying Economic and Political Reforms and in Promoting Cadres"]

[Text] Comrades, our plenum has a special character. It is both an ordinary and an extraordinary plenum.

It is an ordinary plenum primarily because it is a result of the plan to realize the resolutions adopted by the 10th party congress, which decided that a higher-quality cadre policy should be a key condition for the effectiveness of socialist renewal and all reform activities. Preparations for this plenum went on for a long time, especially by way of many discussions, consultations, and expert reports.

The complicated development of the situation—the various elements of this development have departed from our expectations—poses us severe questions, which must be answered clearly and in a way that is socially credible. What point have we reached in the realization of the reform? Where have we created the premises and bridgeheads for the realization of the reform, and where does the poor effectiveness of activities continue to hinder this process? What are the measures that must be taken both in the economy as well as in democratization, cadre policy, and national accord?

The ninth party congress mapped out the road to socialist renewal 7 years ago. We embarked on that road under difficult conditions of the unceasing struggle against the great enormity of mounting difficulties.

During the period of martial law, defying the nature of such an extraordinary situation, we promoted the process of economic and political changes. We continued to intensify the process of these economic and political changes, even though this process deviated from the views and trends that predominated at that time in the community of the socialist states.

Not even for a moment did we leave the road of renewal, reform, accord, and openness. Whoever is able to evaluate those years honestly and without prejudice will have to concede that there have been many changes in our country and that Poland's image is now something else.

But there is no place for self-complacency. On the contrary, positive trends have been weakened recently and, insofar as the material conditions of our life are concerned, they have been simply upset, which means that the main task that the ninth party congress imposed on us—the qualitatively higher effectiveness of implementation—is not being fulfilled satisfactorily. Efforts to achieve planned goals continue to be excessively stretched, and this give rise to social concern for the fate of our reforms and, often, to doubts that they may be effective. The party must not make light of these moods.

It is hard to expect that the process of transformations, which is too extensive and which is taking place under such unfavorable conditions, can be plain sailing, without contradictions, disturbances, and conflicts.

We have to struggle against the protracted consequences of a profound breakdown of our economy. The burden of debts, the results of sanctions, and the still painful discrimination continue to weigh us down. Considerable disproportions and the obsolescence of many technologies continue to assert themselves in our economic base.

There is an acute problem of ecology. The needs of our society have increased. The housing situation is difficult.

The command-and-bureaucracy system has left us the heritage of paralysed thinking insofar as economic rationality is concerned and has seriously undermined our work morale. There is no dearth of pessimism, apathy, and mistrust in our country. Attempts to generate political tension and to destabilize and undermine our social order continue to be repeated.

These are the main difficulties among a great mass of various difficulties. It is impossible to overcome them by words or incantations. Only the skill to tap all available reserves of action will be decisive, and this task imposes particularly stringent demands on the party.

It is from this viewpoint that at this plenum we want to evaluate the results of our work since the 10th party congress. Rejecting bitter evaluations and cowardly visions of catastrophe, we should openly declare that the quality and effectiveness of many of our efforts have not been able to measure up to the many demands and requirements of the present moment.

These are not new problems. The party and the allied parties have already raised these problems before. What we want to do today is not only to stress once again the significance of these problems, but primarily to emphasize the acute necessity, the correct road, and the new forms of accelerating positive solutions to them.

The time of politics and of the economy is faster than normal time and follows different rules than calendar time. The efforts to halt and reverse the negative tendencies which help to cause moods to deteriorate and to

undermine one's sense of the significance and effectiveness of the present changes, especially of the economic changes, are becoming an extremely important and urgent requirement.

Such an evaluation and the conclusions stemming from it are what the entire Central Committee has achieved. All Central Committee members have contributed to this achievement. We have reached these mature conclusions together with the help of discussions during the previous plenums, during the work done by the Central Committee commissions, and during the consultative-information meetings, which were originally our idea. These meetings, which voivodship committees should use on a wider scale, are part and parcel of the new style and methods of work in the party.

Drawing on inspiration from many data and sources, the Politburo presents to the Central Committee the evaluations of and proposals for decisions that should facilitate the realization of the present key goals. We are particularly interested in:

—Increasing the effectiveness of the second stage of the economic reform and of the associated regrouping of forces and resources in economic policy;

—Intensifying the democratization of our sociopolitical life;

—Extending national accord through organizing a kind of reformatory coalition;

—Changing the substance and ways of party activities in the bodies of the state.

This means a struggle on two fronts:

—against those who bandy around reform slogans but are actually seeking—from a destructive standpoint, with respect to socialist Poland—to disrupt the basic requirements for ensuring the effectiveness of the reforms, that is, order and peace, and work and social dialogue;

—and against those at various levels of authority who, by virtue of their conservatism, are blocking, hampering, and distorting the process of renewal by diluting, delaying, and even paralyzing activities.

It is essential to combine these two fronts and expose the opponents of renewal on both sides. The one group ought not to have an impact on public life, and the other group ought to be replaced by people who can and want to act in a new way. This is a condition of extraordinary importance for the success of the activities that are being proposed today.

Expectations connected with the reform have exceeded and continue to exceed what is possible. This is understandable, and even natural. The reform cannot be "good for all things." It is not simple, it does not have an immediate effect, and it does not work miracles. Has use been made of it? Yes, but to an extent that is far from satisfactory. Now that impatience is being voiced and doubts are even being expressed about whether we have chosen the right course, we have to view the matter very carefully, in a completely open manner, to correct what needs to be corrected, eliminate what has failed to work, and strengthen and develop what has turned out to be appropriate.

The economic reform was launched in a very complicated situation. The political struggle was still in progress. The country was experiencing a profound crisis. There was a drastic decline in production and output. Unprecedented restrictions were imposed on us. Imports fell drastically. The market collapsed. Economic ties fell apart. Working hours were reduced. At the same time, social needs grew significantly. There was a rapid increase in the number of children, young people, and pensioners. Despite limitations, various social benefits were maintained and expanded, and this did not always happen in accordance with economic logic.

Despite these unfavorable conditions, we concluded that it was not possible to delay the reform. The period since then, particularly the first stage covering the years 1982-86, showed that this was the right decision to have taken. The economy began to pick up. Labor productivity began to increase. Material production inputs began to be used increasingly better. We began to recover market equilibrium. A significant level of activity was obtained in foreign trade. The 3-year plan tasks (1983-85) were exceeded.

These real, tangible effects led to an improvement in the mood of society. Centers for public opinion research reported an increase in optimism.

However, the reform has not sunk deep roots. Its mechanisms have not become clearly associated with economic policy. Conservative attitudes that had an inhibiting effect persisted. Progress was delayed and hindered by parochialism and sham actions. At the same time, resistance to tough economic criteria and necessities made itself felt.

Thus, there was a growing need for more radical measures. The 10th congress decided that the reform has to be enhanced and that the road that had been set out has to be consistently followed.

The concept for the second stage of the reform that has been adopted reflects our own knowledge and experiences and those of certain other socialist countries. Experts from the IMF and the World Bank expressed their approval.

The implementation program arose through debate; it was extensively discussed and submitted for public appraisal. Its substance takes account of proposals made

by many individuals and groups. Thus, it is a kind of synthesis of various opinions expressed by people involved in practical affairs, advisory bodies, academic circles, and social associations.

However, the administrative formulation of the program took too long; it's been tough work. It has to be admitted, in a spirit of self-criticism, that the party leadership applied too little pressure to have work speeded up. All this has taken too long since the 10th congress.

Last year saw the emergence of a negative change in the public mood. It was the product of the lengthy wait for a concept of the second stage of the reform and the growing impatience during the discussion about the theses. "Stop talking, and do something," and "we are waiting for radical changes." However, it turned out that frequently this verbal radicalism was not backed by a readiness to approve such changes in practice. The presentation of a tough price restructuring option prompted anxiety, pressure on the market, and a gradual emptying of shop shelves. At the same time, this was accompanied by a feeling that average real wages were declining.

This social and psychological scenario also reflected certain changes that took place in the economy last year. The rate of expansion diminished, which was due, among other things, to poor agricultural performance. National income for distribution increased by barely 1.5 percent. At the same time, the level of investment increased by 5 percent, and consumption by a little under 3 percent. These disparities made conditions for the second stage of the reform significantly worse.

During recent months the public's perception of the situation has become worse because of:—high increases in prices and charges for communal services, which have been perceived as a violation of the principles of social security;—a deterioration in the provision of supplies for production, which is something that has led to irregular wage movements in many enterprises;—a decline in the supply of basic commodities as a result of insufficient preferential conditions for agricultural produce, among other things;—a lack of progress in the work of public and consumer services.

We expressed critical views on these matters during, for example, consultative meetings with Central Committee members. Comrades, you have made a significant contribution to these analyses. Thanks to this, we can assess the road traveled since the 10th congress in a more far-reaching and trenchant way.

At no time, not even for a moment, did we vacillate or intend to depart from the line of reform. The issues were set out honestly. We indicated on many occasions that there will not be and there cannot be a lightning economic victory. We indicated that the next 3 years would be difficult and that the reform would create conditions for a gradual improvement.

We have started implementing the program for the second stage of the reform. Many of the decisions and actions that were planned have been put into effect. However, flaws and shortcomings have also emerged.

This particularly applies to prices and incomes operations. This component of the program for the second stage has drastically overshadowed reformist efforts as a whole, especially in the eyes of the public.

During the course of the formulation of the draft program, we saw a clash of controversial, often diametrically opposed views. A whole host of discussions were held. Many people involved in theory and practice, including many authorities on economic matters who deserve respect, took part. The range of appraisals, opinions, and ideas was so great that it could cover the entire world economy.

After conducting a series of examinations, the government formulated an option that was then made the subject of a referendum. The Sejm approved the implementation program for the second stage of the reform, and recommended the adoption of the more moderate solution. However, in practice it was even difficult to obtain public approval for this solution. This was because its implementation was not accompanied by an increase in the supply of goods. Indeed, in many cases there were even fewer goods. There was a lack of material "safeguards" for such a large and complicated undertaking.

At the same time, the state of disequilibrium meant that this form of economic coercion, which sounded so threatening, turned out to be a "paper tiger." A radical price operation can bring about an improvement in the market. However, it can also upset the state of the market if it entails a drastic increase in nominal incomes and further wage demands. That is what happened.

Today, we can say that whatever doubts there may have been, including those voiced by the OPZZ, the Polish National Bank, and the Economic Advisory Council, the comprehensive arguments submitted by the government and the numerous specialists who shared its assessment prevailed. What made this option particularly attractive was the possibility of overcoming the obstacle of an irrational price structure fairly rapidly.

In practice, however, it came up against an even more rapid increase in incomes and an inadequate linkage of wages and performance. This continues to be the weakest point of the reform. The 12-percent tax-free threshold already turned out to be ineffective last year. The current mechanism for determining wages in the socialized economy is ineffective and contains flaws. The projected growth in income for other sectors has also been significantly exceeded. Against this kind of background, tensions have increased. It has turned out that if one element of the reform fails, this undermines the cohesion of the reform and weakens the remaining elements.

The worst aspect of all of this is that, despite an increase in prices and incomes that exceeds results, it is widely believed that the general level of real wages has fallen. What does it matter if statistics tell the general truth, when the truth as it is experienced by individual people and groups is closer to life and is more complicated, more acute, and determines attitudes.

The effects of the prices and incomes operations are being keenly felt. The gap between poverty and wealth has increased; wealth being something that is often acquired through preying on market difficulties. Our party must increase its vigilance with respect to these kinds of deformations of the socialist character of the reform.

As result of the whole operation there is one thing that we can count on: more realistic supply prices and an improvement in supply price differentials. This can encourage people to make more economic use of raw materials, fuel, and energy in industry, in the countryside, and, to some extent, in the home. However, in general, it has to be stated that negative phenomena have decidedly predominated. The price allergy has increased. The inflationary spiral has grown. As a result, public criticism of the reform and economic policy has intensified.

This makes it necessary to find a new prices and incomes policy that enjoys public approval. The path leading to this goal proposed by the Politburo is a system of coordinating prices and incomes through a joint public - state standing commission. Those involved in the commission should be, on the one hand, representatives of enterprises, that is, of managements and self-management bodies in the capacity of employers, and representatives of the cooperative movement and the private and trades sectors and, on the other hand, trade unions, agricultural circles, consumer organizations, women, and pensioners. The third participant, who would act as a mediator and would bear the ultimate responsibility for the effects of what is agreed, would be the government.

The commission's task would be to find social "consensus" for solutions that reconcile the economic goals of prices and incomes policy with social conditions, and efficiency with the principles of justice. Its work should be aimed at discouraging sudden price operations, ones that occur all at once, and at bringing about smooth price movements.

The representative character of the sides taking part in the commission should guarantee that the decisions that are adopted can count on understanding, although not all the decisions may please everyone completely. This is because we can only distribute what has been produced.

The concept that has been set out here ought to be urgently, but carefully, prepared, and use ought to be made of, among other things, foreign experiences, including those of Austria and France.

Preparations for the second stage were preceded by an extensive explanatory campaign. However, it was not effective everywhere or all the time. It failed to provide society with a sufficient understanding of the effects that will be produced by the various mechanisms, parameters, by restructuring and intensification, to understand the idea behind the choice in terms of "something for something," to convince people of what kind of material, social, and cultural values the reform "workshop" will bring and when.

The conclusion that this gives rise to is that the government should make greater use of political methods. Today, it is no longer enough to make a decision and present it in general economic terms in a sort of "ex cathedra" way. To obtain understanding for and confidence in a decision, it has to be phrased in a language that people understand; people have to be convinced that it is right, and the way in which it is received by them has to be checked. The government, ministers, and directors cannot be released from this obligation.

Thus, the view that is sometimes encountered among people working in the administration, according to which they are responsible for the economy and the party is responsible for attitudes, is unacceptable. This is a false kind of reasoning! Social attitudes are a reality. Under certain conditions and in certain situations they become a concrete force and, whether we like it or not, these attitudes have to be heeded and cannot be ignored.

The tensions and problems that have arisen cannot alter the general course of the reform. Modifications can be introduced when economic performance and prices and incomes processes in particular, are appraised after the first 6 months of this year. All constructive proposals and suggestions, regardless of where and whom they come from, will have to be carefully examined. This is one of the paths leading to the expansion of dialogue, to a pro-reform front, to a valuable plane for national accord.

It seems that the Extraordinary Sejm Commission for Supervision of the Implementation of the Reform is an appropriate and authoritative forum for action of this kind.

There are various factors weakening the reform. The threats from above are bureaucratism and inertia. The far-reaching reorganization of the central administration could not—this is natural—produce an immediate breakthrough in the operation of newly established organs. However, in some areas changes are taking place too slowly: They are not leading to a fundamental reappraisal of the manner in which work is performed. Internal matters are still drawing attention away from

fundamental substantive tasks. With respect to enterprises, ministries are finding it difficult to assume the role of efficient, competent representatives of the state. There has also been something of a revival of bureaucratic resistance, officials who used to decide, order, and distribute in the past have succumed to temptations linked with parochialism and prestige.

There have also been other regressive developments. The degree of cooperative independence is being expanded. It is no longer obligatory for a cooperative to belong to a central association. However, at the same time, in December of last year the Supreme Cooperative Council imposed a form of tribute on every square meter of usuable apartment space. We want party members who are operating in cooperative structures to be more sensitive to moves that are damaging to the sense of the reform and the public interest.

There are also dangers that threaten the reform from below. There are managements, employee councils, trade unions, and sometimes even party organizations that devote particular attention to finding ways of winding up prices and wages. Economic relations in every sixth enterprise and cooperative during the first 3 months of this year can be deemed clearly inappropriate. We have to stop treating this kind of economic subversion with kid gloves. The responsibility for this situation lies not only with directors, but also with party echelons and with party members who are members of employee councils.

However, the majority of directors and work forces have acted in accordance with the letter and spirit of the reform. A meeting was recently held with 40 managers representing the best plants. Their work merits respect and provides confirmation of the need to maintain a tough line with regard to those who are parasites on healthy organisms.

What should also be stressed in this context is that independence and self-management provides a great opportunity, because they encourage efficiency. However, when they act as a screen for arbitrariness, parochialism, and an existence led at the expense of others, they become a hindrance. The first has to be supported on all counts, and the second has to be resolutely combated.

We are not viewing passively attempts to dismantle the reform from above and from below. The program for the implementation of the second stage of the reform has been bolstered by the introduction of special powers. The government has obtained additional, powerful weapons for the time being. Today, no one can complain that his hands are tied.

In accordance with the resolution that it adopted, the Sejm will examine the use of these powers and the actual results that they produce every quarter. This is a basic test for the government and the economic administration. Whoever fails this test must shoulder the consequences.

Directors, self-management bodies, and party organizations and trade unions should seek to ensure that there are no reasons for applying extraordinary measures in their enterprises.

What do we expect, and what will we be fighting for in the near future? The main goal is accelerating the attainment of results that are awaited by the public. The chairman of the Council of Ministers will set out the activities connected with this tomorrow.

In the opinion of the Politburo, a matter of the greatest importance is the gradual but more rapid attainment of equilibrium in successive sectors of the market and the elimination of the shortages that trouble people. We expect the government to draw up a list of basic goods that will be available in shops at all times by the end of this year.

Raw material bottlenecks that prevent an increase in the supply of basic commodities have to be eliminated more resolutely. We believe that it is essential that the government allocate more resources for currency purchases. Sometimes entire departments grind to a halt because of a shortage of foreign currency for the purchase of the proverbial gasket.

Large amounts of resources are tied up in investment projects. Some of these materials could be used to strengthen the market. The ban on the commencement of new construction work, with the exception of housing and facilities for social purposes, environmental protection, agriculture, and the food processing industry, will result in a reduction in the number of projects that are being realized, make it easier to complete those that are still under way, lessen supply problems, and reduce the influence of money that is not backed by concrete results.

The defense industry has announced an increase in the supply of goods. Apart from the goods that have already been supplied, there has been a real, additional increase—worth tens of billions of zlotys—in the production of consumer goods, consumer goods that are sought after and are highly durable.

Food is a matter of key importance for the market. The work of Polish farmers and an improvement in the supply of inputs for production to their farms has produced tangible effects over the last few years. However, this does not mean that the matter has been settled once and for all. This year's weather is giving rise to concern about the harvest. It highlights once again the importance of supplying the countryside with inputs for production, which particularly applies to the supply of chemical agents.

Poor quality often cancels out the effect of production results. The losses run into billions. Society feels that standards are deteriorating. This state of affairs cannot be tolerated. At its third congress the Federation of

Consumers proposed a system of greater personal responsibility, greater variation in official prices depending on quality, stiffer tax sanctions, and the liquidation of enterprises that produce reject and "shoddy" goods on a mass scale. These are serious proposals, and that is how they ought to be treated by government organs with due urgency.

These temporary, extraordinary measures are necessary, but they are not of decisive importance in the long term. We are introducing a far-reaching reform to encourage efficiency in a natural way and not through various "artificial aids" and recourse to campaigns, appeals, constant inspections, and pseudo-institutional patching up operations.

What is the key to the whole affair? What should we do so that the efforts that we see enterprise making today to obtain allocations, concessions, foreign currency, and tax allowances are finally replaced by serious efforts to reduce costs, employ labor more efficiently, and introduce new technology.

The key lies in the attainment of economic equilibrium. "How," "in what way," is of fundamental importance.

In practice, it is a question of:—applying reform instruments in a resolute and consistent manner, which means overcoming bureaucratic inertia and social pressure and indecision;—the modification of economic policy, including urgent adjustments to the National Socioeconomic Plan and the outlining of a bold concept for the next 5 years.

These are the main lines of the struggle for a better economy.

We are still in a state of transition, of transition from the old to the new system. But we are not beginning completely from scratch. Thousands of enterprises have made progress. There has been a change in thinking. Categories such as profit, income, costs, and companies crop up everywhere in discussions about the economy. However, there is still a lot of sluggishness and neglect. Thus, there must be more movement on the road to reform. Of course, this does not mean that things ought to be done with excessive haste, in a state of panic, and in a manner that is divorced from conditions. The binding principle must be: Give the market as much as is possible, and give the plan as much as is necessary.

Today, the most important social and economic tasks are establishing equilibrium and winding down the inflationary spiral. This calls for strict curbs on issuing money. Banks should not tolerate a lack of discipline with regard to payments, and should tighten up on money and credits. At the same time, the population's savings should be activated in, for example, the form of bonds, shares, and other securities.

A tough economic regime must ultimately lead to the selection of enterprises, including the selection of enterprises for liquidation or bankruptcy. Thus, we will enter a new phase, not only from the point of view of the reform workshop, but also from that of the situation of work forces and social groups with respect to reform mechanisms and rigors. Contradictions will arise and conflicts of interest will intensify, particularly between those who want to achieve more progress and those who want to slow it down.

The efficiency promoted by the reform may lead to shifts in employment and, at times, the need to change one's job or find another occupation. However, at the same time it should foster a situation in which work will be valued and respected.

The main idea behind the second stage is enterprise. We are counting on equality between the various sectors in the economy. Not restrictions on individual economic activity, but the creation of attractive conditions for good specialists in socialized plants will ensure that they do not lose out.

A traditional and characteristic feature of socialism is that it has not appealed to individual egoism as the driving force behind its development, but has promoted models of joint activity, social ties, and solidarity between people. However, this is also an area in which we have made mistakes. It is too easy to view as egoism what is a natural need to distinguish oneself, to put oneself to the test, and to realize ambitions of attaining something.

The type of people who shirk work and spend their time propping up the bar over a beer are universally considered parasites. This spectacle arouses repugnance, but it is something that is confined to a sorry fringe element. A form of parasitism that poses a greater threat to the future of the country is the maintenance and subsidizing of weak enterprises at the expense of good ones, or tolerance of abuses of social benefits. Devil-may-care attitudes or frequent instances of outright dishonesty are not a matter of no consequence for the economy. The cost is borne by those who work hard.

Actually, during the 43 years of People's Poland, we have not succeeded in fully realizing the basic principle of socialism in the distribution sphere, that is, from each according to his ability, to each according to his actual work. This is a principle that is accepted by the overwhelming majority of society, but in practice it is exceptionally difficult to realize. Because it has never functioned properly, what has arisen is a demand for "distribution justice," which has become deeply rooted: It is also because no one knows who gets what for what in terms of money, allowances in kind, supplements, allowances, branch and job-related privileges.

The Politburo hopes that the government, acting in agreement with the trade unions, will purge the benefits system of practices that run counter to the requirements of the reform and, above all, a feeling of social justice. At the same time, we hope that it will enrich it with new solutions so that it will provide more tangible help to those who really need it. As has been announced, we will deal with this question thoroughly at the National Delegate Conference.

Restructuring is a fundamental matter that is of decisive importance for the attainment of progress and modernity in the economy. It is still proving difficult to prevent the reemergence of old faults. Two of them are being felt particularly acutely: the high level of material- and energy-intensiveness, and the underdevelopment of the sector producing consumer goods, both foodstuffs and manufactured goods.

With a view to improving this situation, work has started on making adjustments to the final 2 years of the National Socioeconomic Plan. This has not being going smoothly so far. Perhaps, the will was there, but courage and determination were in short supply. Issues get bogged down in discussions and bargaining. Power industry people say that a fuel crisis is looming. Economists say that old, ineffective structures are being copied. Both sides have their arguments. To reconcile the two viewpoints, adjustments to the plan have to be primarily subordinated to the goal of economizing on energy and raw materials. In practice, this means lightening the burden imposed by capital-intensive investment projects that extend over many years and, at the same time, concentrating resources on industries that produce consumer goods. These are decisions that carry a great responsibility and which are, at the same time, of increasingly urgent importance. Postponing solutions and giving in to pressure from a branch of the economy is tantamount to checking progress. We expect that in the third quarter of this year the government will submit to the Sejm a draft document containing clear-cut amendments to the plan for the years 1989-90.

Work on a revision of the current National Socioeconomic Plan cannot be divorced from the formulation of a future development program. During the next 5-year plan—the plan provisions will be prepared for presentation at the National Delegate Conference—we will need bolder, more far-reaching restructuring, that takes account of high technology and the needs of the food industry. The reorganization of the economy's structures is the main way of "breaking through" into world competition and satisfying the material and cultural needs and aspirations of the people.

The "Poland 2000" Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences has submitted scenarios for the long-term development of the country. The Planning Commission is conducting preplanning studies on a concept for the upcoming period. Work on longer-term issues is at an advanced stage. Their results must be set against social expectations and enriched with the experience of various communities and the intellectual achievements of outstanding individuals.

Restructuring calls for better use of the opportunities created by scientific and technical progress. This is the main weapon for overcoming stagnation and an instrument for effective development. Meanwhile, technical innovations—despite the significant efforts that are being made, including those of the Chief Technical Organization—are being applied slowly. Effects are not keeping up with intentions and needs.

The tough challenges and the scale of the tasks that the country faces call for particular commitment on the part of the Polish intelligentsia, especially the technical intelligentsia.

Poland has no shortage of talented and ambitious engineers and technicians. But it is often the case that what is lacking is the right atmosphere, appropriate organizational conditions, and incentives in terms of material benefits and status. Something that merits particular attention is the need to clearly link the salaries of scientific and technical cadres with that part of an enterprise's profits that are the product of new inventions, innovations, and improvements.

The road to modernity also lies in greater openness to the rest of the world. Our main partner is the socialist community. It, and the Soviet Union above all, was our one source of assistance and support during that very difficult period when, in effect, a blockade was imposed on us by the West. It is also true today that the readiness of our Soviet comrades to take up matters of vital significance for our economy relating to payments and raw materials is very important.

The rate at which integration is expanding and the scale of the benefits that it brings will indicate the effectiveness of the restructuring of the economic instruments of cooperation and the development of the market mechanism for ties with CEMA countries. We are gradually moving closer toward this. The first effects are already appearing. It was recently agreed that direct cooperation between Polish and Soviet economic organizations and border region trade would be based on the principles of the convertibility of national currencies in line market exchange rates.

New opportunities are being created for joint ventures and other forms of cooperation involving foreign capital. A draft law has already been submitted to the Sejm. After it is introduced, conditions for investment in Poland will be better and not worse than in other socialist countries.

We favor the normalization of financial and credit relations with the West and the agreement of an "adjustment program" with the IMF. We hope that

creditor countries will display a realistic and constructive approach. This is also in their interests and may speed up the balance of trade.

However, we view the debt question in broader terms, in terms of what is happening in Europe and the rest of the world. Poland wants to play an active part in meeting the challenges of contemporary civilization. Our desire to participate in this process is not only of a temporary kind, related to the present severity of the debt problem, but reflects, above all, a strategic, far-reaching aim.

That is why it is wrong and unjust to say that we are not credible. The resolution of the Polish debt problem is not only an economic issue. What is needed is greater political will on the part of our largest creditors. The near future will show whether they are credible, whether they are in favor of the normalization of relations and, to put it simply, a stable Poland as an important condition for detente and cooperation in Europe.

Comrades, the role of the party in the socialist state has its lasting, historical, and institutional foundations, but the ways in which this role is realized are changing. Over the decades a stereotype of the party has developed according to which the party, on a daily basis, in a detailed and even meticulous way defines and authorizes the activities of state organs and other structures of sociopolitical life. This concept proved to be anachronistic, practice was ineffective, and this lead to serious failures.

Poland needs strong and effective state authority, which can win public support for necessary but difficult decisions, enforce law and order, and ensure that the law is respected. The party does not intend and does not want to take over governing and administering from the state. On the other hand, we have to bear in mind that part of the aktiv fears that it will lose its influence on the country's life and development.

The party is not going to shed its historic responsibility for the socialist direction of Poland's socioeconomic development.

However, there is an enormous gap between "all" or "nothing," and we have to fill it better than we have.

Lenin used to say: "Better less, but better." Let us add, anyone wants to have everything may end up with nothing or almost nothing, which is something that we have learned painfully on more than one occasion in the past. This is because it is not the scale or detailed nature of intervention that determines real influence but the constant rejuvenation of direct links with nonparty members and the ability to use the democratic levers of exercising leadership.

We are convinced that this is the right road, but its effectiveness has not been fully confirmed yet. It is not easy to master, let alone grow to like, a new style. Marshaling, rather than winning over, continues to be more enticing. There is a tangible lack of self-discipline, objectivity, and consistency with respect to implementation. Today, this is essentially our number one problem.

At the outset of socialism, the banner of the new type of party bore the Leninist slogan: "All Power to the Soviets." However, later and for a long time to come, actual power lay outside the Soviets. The actual scope of their powers was curtailed. The extraordinarily important and valuable opportunities for regional self-management provided by socialism disappeared. This meant that the efficiency and, by the same token, the actual power of the bureaucracy became illusory. This is because the failure to rightly assess the value of representative organs reduced the social basis for government and thus undermined the effectiveness of administrative activities.

This disease also affected Poland.

Since the ninth congress, we have been proceeding along the road of strengthening the role of the Sejm and people's councils. This is also confirmed by the current term of office, which is drawing to a close.

There are an equal number of councils that do and do not operate in a new way. There are a lot, if we take into consideration how difficult it is to overcome old habits, as well as the extensive manifestations of social passivity and a lack of discipline that still occur. There are few, however, if they are compared with those that have failed to make full use of their powers and rights.

It is worth stressing all the more how much can be gained through enterprise and personal initiative. For example, the voivodship people's council and the voivodship office in Slupsk—which are being widely talked about—as well as those in Bydgoscz, Gdansk, and Poznan, have been able to build more housing by using solutions that do not conform to standard patterns and displaying boldness in overcoming bureaucratic resistance. Unfortunately, this kind of action has not yet become widespread.

The numerous winners of "Good Management" competitions, including those have been winners on several occasions such as Tomaszow Lubelski (Zamosc Voivodship), Ropczyce (Rzeszow Voivodship), Zukowo (Gdansk Voivodship), and Grodzisk Wielkopolskie (Poznan Voivodship), provide examples of effective activity with respect to both base and superstructure. But they also show that while some people can do a great deal, a great many are still fast asleep. The emergence of a positive process of relations between councils and the administration is evident. But it is taking place at different rates and to varying degrees. There is still resistance to giving councils more power. However, on the other hand, not every council wants and knows how to take power, and, after all, it really is going to be a lot of power now.

Despite frequent complaints about the regional administration, only 7.5 percent of the changes in managerial positions have taken place on the direct initiative of councils. The draft for a new law contains a new vote of acceptance formula and greatly increased cadre powers. It is to be expected that they will be used justly, but also more energetically and with more adherence to principles.

All over today's civilized world there is a growing interest in life at the local level as, among other things, a response to the oppressive anonymity of the great conurbations. That is why we see the role of regional self-management in a broad context. A sense of sovereignty and activity on the part of local communities and the diverse character of local initiatives is a future trend that the party ought to promote on all counts.

A great achievement of the current decade is the openness of public life, the development of the practice of holding consultations, and an extensive system of advisory bodies and public opinion research. We have, in this respect, many pioneering solutions that are arousing interest in other countries.

But there is still a lot to be done. Openness does not pay everywhere, and objective criticism often encounters resistance. Excessive attention to ceremony, formalism, and ostentatiousness have not been completely uprooted. In many towns, communes, and work places, people are not even informed about basic issues and their opinions are not sought. We must say clearly that these kinds of attitudes and practices disqualify those party and socialist state activists who bear concrete responsibility.

People's councils also have much to do in this field. In particular, they could, in the wake of the great democratic experience provided by the national referendum, use the opportunities provided by the constitution for conducting local referendums on matters of key importance for a given region.

As institutional guarantees are developed and enhanced, the most important thing is to make to democratic procedures functional and effective and that the decisions made in accordance with them are implemented consistently. This is precisely where, in relation to both larger issues and everyday matters, the greatest gap and the most evident weakness is to be found.

There is no shortage of people in our country who know best about how to bring about Poland's recovery. However, often the very same people do not how to solve basic issues that are right "under their noses" and lie within their field of authority and responsibility.

A lack of conscientiousness about discharging duties, insufficient concern about public property, violations of regulations, shortcomings in the maintenance of order, cleanliness, and hygiene often fail to be resolutely rebuffed by the authorities and society.

To eliminate these ills, some of which are centuries old, in this sphere—an essential and integral part of civilization—people's councils and council members should enforce observance of law, order, and discipline with respect to the administration, public services, and services that maintain order.

At the Sixth Central Committee Plenum a concept was developed for the further democratization of the procedures governing the election of people's councils and a fundamental expansion of their powers.

This was followed by a lively and often controversial public debate. In particular, there was clash of concepts: One exceeded what is possible today, and the other led to suggestions of a cosmetic kind.

Undoubtedly, the solutions that have been adopted represent fundamental progress. But this is not the last word. The system of people's councils that is being currently introduced is an expression of a specific period of transition from the current situation to what will be possible in the future. Practice will verify intentions. The upcoming elections and the new term of office will be a yardstick for determining how productive the line that has been adopted is.

The Sejm will shortly give final form and legal force to a law that represents a qualitative increase in the role of people's councils and regional self-management and an important change in the relationship between citizens and people's councils and between people's councils and the administration.

Thus, the main task in the near future will be to make full use of the new opportunities that people's councils have for implementing the second stage of the economic reform.

In line with the aim of the reform, parent body functions with regard to many enterprises will be transferred from the center to the voivodship. New opportunities are presented by the introduction of communal ownership. It is a permanent policy line to transfer powers to the regions along with the financial and material means for their exercise in accordance with justifiable social needs.

A considerable increase in authority does not in any way mean that things will be easier. When someone receives more, more is expected of him.

If the new solutions assume positive substance or turn out to be too restrictive from the point of view of public expectations and initiatives, then, in the not too distant future, including next year's Sejm elections, it will be possible to go further.

How, in the face of new tasks, should we assess the use that is made of the opportunities created by the new regulations? From the point of view of simple election propaganda, a positive picture ought to be presented. Besides, there is no lack of evidence to support this. The majority of candidates are people who have been tried and tested in various fields of activity, and people who are experienced or show promise for the future. There are more nonparty members among them than before. Young people are also much more in evidence.

However, the shortcomings must be stated clearly. The election campaign has seen a clash between the new and the old ways of thinking. While some people thought, in accordance with the line of socialist renewal, about how to make the elections credible, others have focused their efforts on "securing" the election. As a result, in some places the opportunities for putting forward people with varied, controversial views have not been put to sufficient use.

But, at the same time, the desire to join constructively in the course of the elections has come up against a lack of trust, indecision, and, above all, extremist agitation to encourage people to stay on the side-lines. Essentially, this means being late, yet again, for the "train of history." As a result, a certain number of potential candidates have refused to take part. However, we would like to believe that those who are absent from the electoral roll, will be present in various people's council initiatives geared toward the common good.

The elections will take place in a few days. Participation in them is a civic right and duty, not an order. The days of 99 percent electoral turnouts are over. During those days, he who did not vote could be considered someone who was demonstratively opposed to the authorities. So, it was a kind of courageous act not to go and vote. Today, however, in certain communities it is a courageous act not to yield to pressure and go vote. I think that there will be no shortage of courageous people among Poles.

How should we assess cases of people staying away from voting? He, who despite everything does not go vote is in fact handing over power to those who are socially active, is ceding his civic rights, and is agreeing to everything that they do. This is true in the majority of states at present, and is also true as far as Poland is concerned.

Over the last few years, one of socialist democracies great achievements has been to achieve a basic increase in the position, activity, and status of the PPR Sejm both in Poland and abroad.

Guided by the intention of the further strengthening of the constitutional role of parliament, the PZPR Deputies Club has proposed conducting a review of the whole range of concrete relations between the Sejm and the government. The Politburo deems this appropriate. At the same time, it proposes that problems connected with the activity of party deputies will be examined by the Central Committee during the current Sejm term of office at a joint meeting with the PZPR Deputies Club.

Step by step, actions are being undertaken and realized with a view to strengthening law observance and the rule of law. A comprehensive review of the entire legal system has been initiated from the point of view of the new stage of socioeconomic development.

To accelerate and bring this difficult, labor-intensive task as close as possible to the realities of life, extensive use ought to be made of the views of individual legal groups. In particular, the group of experienced legal advisers attached to enterprises and institutions could take part in speeding up the process of eliminating the real web of unnecessary or outdated regulations.

The judiciary has a particular role to play with respect to law observance and maintenance of the rule of law. Strengthening the independence of the courts and increasing the role of defense in the administration of justice is a fundamental policy line and is in keeping with the intentions of the party.

The idea of establishing a second chamber of the Sejm is being discussed in the party, among our coalition partners, and in many communities. This is an important element of work that has already been started on the creation of a new PPR Constitution in accordance with the decision adopted at the 10th congress.

We also propose that socioeconomic councils attached to voivodship councils could develop into an institutional form of bringing together various types of self-management organization and would be a kind of form of representation for employee, professional, and cooperative self-management bodies.

The Politburo proposes that the proposals concerning a modern model of the socialist state that have been formulated into several options be examined at the Second National Conference of PZPR Delegates.

The coalition form of exercising power is being enriched. The alliance between the PZPR, the SD, and the ZSL is the mainstay of this coalition and its fundamental basis. Their identity and program independence is being retained, while authentic and genuine partnership in their mutual relations is increasing. We will proceed further in this direction at all levels. We could, among other things, introduce new institutional forms of cooperation and joint responsibility—particularly in the field of cadre policy, including the joint creation and assessment of the reserve for key positions.

A second, broader plane of coalition activity is cooperation between the three parties and associations of Catholics and lay Christians and all organizations, forces, and persons who make up PRON.

Finally, there is the third plane—the broadest one, where practice and the idea behind it are taking shape slowly—of cooperation with communities that stand outside PRON and are ready to become involved in the cause of reforms and accord. Candidates from these communities will naturally enter the sphere of state cadre policy.

In line with the resolution adopted at the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, work is in progress on a new law on associations and an expansion of freedom of action for associations within the constitutional framework. The preparation of the new law and its approval before the end of this year should not hold up the process of registering socially justified initiatives that have already been launched.

It is also the party's intention that the new opportunities for forming associations assist the transferral of certain functions that have until now been performed by the state apparatus to appropriate social organizations. We spoke about this at the 10th congress. However, this is being realized sluggishly, because the administration's reluctance to do this is coupled with a lack of initiative on the part of the relevant organizations.

We are making an offer of substantive discussions on the form of concrete solutions to communities and groups that are interested in an association-based form of pluralism in the PPR.

National accord is a fundamental condition for and one of the goals of socialist renewal. Today it is broader than in past years. This was also proven by the attitude of the overwhelming majority of society toward the recent attempts to provoke a new wave of tension.

Against the background of the troubles that society is experiencing as result of the complicated and often painful process of implementing the second stage of the reform, actions that indicated a preference for peace and work are of even greater significance. We acknowledge and nurture sincere respect for such attitudes.

We also understand that young people react more vehemently, because they are, by their very nature, impatient and emotional, which makes it easier to use them to detonate tensions and conflicts.

However strange it may sound, the pied pipers behind the recent incidents served the cause of accord, contrary to their calculations. On the one hand, they isolated themselves by affirming in full view their pathological lack of responsibility.

However, by acting in this way, they created a situation that made it possible to see and assure oneself of how extensive realism is today. People who do not agree with us on various, often fundamental questions, including people who consider themselves to be members of the so-called opposition, adopted a civic and patriotic stance. This confirms that it is appropriate to revise the stereotype idea of opposition.

A clear border has emerged between those who want to weaken and destabilize the socialist Polish state and those who, even from a very critical standpoint, want to change it, improve it, and make it more efficient. Whoever distances himself from the destructive philosophy of "the worse it is the better," regardless of the position from which he does so, is, objectively speaking, a credible partner for dialogue.

Such people come from far afield. We have also travelled a long road. This is necessary to overcome the division of "us and them" about matters of the greatest importance, to overcome the attitude of going "to us" or "to them," and move toward what unites and brings us closer together.

After all, this is what happened with people representing different currents that were often profoundly opposed to one another in the struggle against the Hitlerite invader. Wrongs, bitterness, and mutual prejudices could not be avoided. However, for decades now, we have succeeded in finding a common language on all issues of the greatest importance for the people and the state.

We are fully aware of the psychological and moral complications that attend the evolution of people's views. This awareness is also one of the reasons for our offer of dialogue and our readiness to engage in it and the exchange of views that is an essential part of it.

Practice during the last few years has revealed our constructive and historically enduring position on relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church and other churches and religious associations. There has been a substantial expansion of the area of dialogue and mutual understanding. This positive evolution is continuing. This is of particular importance in Poland. The majority of the population are believers, but, at the same time, the majority acknowledge the fundamental values of socialism. The fact that these two affirmations do not clash with each other today and do not give rise to conflicts of conscience and duplicity is something of inestimable value.

This is because we consider a situation in which a people's state cannot be identified with militant atheism and the church cannot be identified with political clericalism normal and beneficial. In particular, we value the position of the church on what are difficult situations arising on the pioneering road of profound socioeconomic transformations. We think that this far-sightedness will be confirmed by the disappearance of

instances of political extremism—although it is true to say that they are few and far between—something that is incompatible with the vocation of the priesthood.

Differences and debate concerning world outlooks can and should be a creative element that does not disrupt cooperation on matters of overriding importance for the people. Linked to this is the possibility of attaining an organizationally higher level of political representation for communities that subscribe to the social teachings of the church and have a constructive attitude toward the socialist state.

Accord is a matter for the Poles. The stubborn efforts being made by some circles in the West to renew efforts to interfere in our domestic matters can only harm this process. This is because, in principle, we are ready to speak to anyone, as long as he is not the client, and a paid one at that, of a foreign court.

As we know, in the past relations between socialist states assumed various—and not always correct—forms. In recent years changes have taken place that can only be described as being of historic significance. Our cooperation is based on the principle of partnership and its characteristic features are mutual trust and complete respect. No one imposes anything on anyone else or prompts anyone to behave in a certain way. This also applies to institutional solutions and cadre measures. This is our own, sovereign right.

This makes one all the more surprised at the "missionary zeal" of some of our Western partners. We desire good, even friendly, relations with all countries. There is an opportunity to meet half way the needs of our society, which has been so painfully affected by economic sanctions and restrictions. This, and not support for destabilizing factors, will be the best yardstick of a friendly attitude toward our people and Poland.

Public opinion research confirms that the resolute majority of Polish society is in favor of the socialist development of the country, but that there are reservations about practices and concrete methods and solutions. Thus, an even greater number of points of contact emerge as the emphasis is shifted in the thinking of various civic groups. These points of contact create a basis for understanding that is increasingly clear, but still has not assumed an entirely concrete form.

The expansion of current paths and the opening of new paths for reaching a coalition that is essential for Poland, a coalition that is broad, patriotic, and reform-oriented, is not a temporary tactic, but a lasting element of our program.

Its framework provides room for important experiments. Contrary to the various fears and misgivings that were expressed, the establishment of the Consultative Council and civic assemblies in certain voivodships has produced positive results. While retaining one's ideological and political identity and, at the same time, proceeding from a basis of political realism, one can engage in objective debate, create models of political culture, and exert a real influence on the authorities' assessments and actions. Current experience creates conditions for considering the possibility of allowing the Consultative Council to undergo an institutional evolution.

The party leadership adopted the position that candidates who consider themselves to be independent should be put forward during the elections. The question of increasing their representation in the PPR Sejm, the Consultative Council, voivodship civic assemblies, the Sejm Socioeconomic Council, and other structures of sociopolitical and economic life remains open.

We expect our comrades who operate in various kinds of advisory bodies or organize groups of experts, to expand their compositions by, among other things, including representatives of pluralist currents of thought. In accordance with the intention of the sixth plenum, we are responding positively to initiatives to establish discussion clubs that would ensure that various opinions and positions are represented.

We are in favor of continuing and expanding possibilities for having social dialogue reflected in the press, radio, television, and in the new publications that are being established.

While stressing the great achievements of PRON, we approve of its efforts to promote dialogue and understanding on foundations that are broader than the present ones. We consider the efforts of the OPZZ and of the overwhelming majority of trade union movement bodies to realize the innovative and broad program platform of the second congress to be important and fruitful.

The gradual entry into the activities of the trade union movement of people and groups who, for various reasons, have remained outside its framework until now is valuable.

We devoted great attention to the exchange of views on the subject of trade union pluralism that was recently organized by the OPZZ. We share the view that the most important thing is to prevent the workplace from becoming the scene of political struggles and unrealistic demands and trade union activity being turned into organized forms of destabilizing and dividing the state.

We propose that comrades working in social organizations and creative associations—as has happened in the case of Union of Polish Actors—put forward, within the framework of what is possible under statutes, an initiative that is aimed at coopting all those wishing to take part in partner-like cooperation to the existing structures and their ruling bodies.

We listen carefully to proposals for new types of youth associations. Constructive and responsible projects could be realized, such as, for example, the youth parliaments and the "Reform Clubs" initiated by the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and involving the broad participation of people who are not formally members of any association, and the new type of self-management body and student parliaments announced by the Association of Polish Students.

Our catalogue of offers is and will be constantly open to all initiatives that strengthen unity in diversity and enrich the model of socialist Poland's political, social, and economic life.

The sixth plenum opened a new stage in political reforms. Today, we are submitting a realization schedule that covers dates for specific activities, the allocation of responsibility, and the way in which implementation will be checked. The Politburo proposes that it be given the force of a Central Committee resolution.

Comrades, there is a close interdependence between the ideas of the party and the changes in the party. This is because the party should set the tone, forge and develop the program of reforms, be at the head of its implementation, and create as many positive models of behavior as possible.

As is indicated by the party program adopted at the 10th congress, we are in a period of transition, not only from capitalism to socialism, but also from the old to the new model of constructing socialism.

We cannot achieve this in one leap, with one decision. It is a difficult process that requires the continuous development of thought and practice, the accumulation and analysis of experience, and a move from quantitative change to new qualitative elements.

Is this evolution proceeding rapidly enough? That is the basic question. Positive results have undoubtedly been achieved. Are there enough of them, are they commensurate with the new situation and new tasks? Our answer is no!

Our party is experiencing difficulties: It has not always found its right place in accelerated development processes.

Thus, the current form of the style and methods of the party's activities, the functioning of its structures, and the way of thinking of part of the aktiv and the political apparatus cannot remain unchanged. The identity of the party derives from its loyalty to the ideals of socialism, which does not in any way mean adherence to fixed forms.

We must consider it right to criticize delays and inconsistencies in this process.

Lenin constantly stressed that one of the main sources of the party's power is its readiness to critically assess its own mistakes and rectify them.

An objective appraisal of the causes and mechanisms behind our shortcomings that is extensive, but free from extremes and panic, should serve this goal. We also see these causes and mechanisms in the activities of the central party bodies, including the leading ones—the Politburo and the Secretariat.

This particularly applies to:—the unsatisfactory standard of some appraisals and forecasts, their excessive reliance on the opinions of the administration and the lowering of requirements with respect to bodies that are directly responsible for the situation in various areas;—insufficient concentration on key, strategic problems, and, at the same time, minimal progress in resolving matters that are perceived as being troublesome and irritating by the public;—the disappearance, within the mechanisms of collective work, of personal responsibility on the part of members of the leadership for the areas with which they have been entrusted;—a continuing sense of paralysis about effectiveness and consistency in implementation.

We should bear in mind that the entire system of party, state, and government work is marked by the ever insufficient tendency, skill, and habit of consistently and strictly ensuring that managerial cadres account for the implementation of resolutions, decisions, and tasks. Within the party, this is particularly so with the individual departments and with the Central Committee Secretariat. Things are not much better at other levels.

One bit of proof of this is the annual comparisons of the results of the work done by individual voivodships. The Central Committee Commission for Internal Affairs and Party Activities will examine proposals to improve that system and to utilize it in order to obtain in-depth evaluations of the individual party cells in voivodships.

Red tape is the basic brake on effectiveness, but the problem is not merely the amount of paper work. Red tape is more than that. It is also a result of the system of organization and the ways of thinking that erect barriers between individuals and slows down performance.

Efforts to demolish bureaucratic obstacles in all their forms are a political, functional, and psychological condition for the success of the renewal of the style of our life and work.

Under conditions of political feverishness and in the difficult situation at the beginning of the eighties we were able to much more quickly solve various problems and to make decisions that are still valid and topical today.

But what is the situation today? Affairs are very heavy-footed, as if sluggishness were something quite normal.

A multitude of reports, analyses, expertises, evaluations, and control data continue to crowd our desks. There is also a multitude of meetings, sessions, and conferences. It is true that they flood us with many valuable stimuli, signals, and views, but there seems to be no time and perhaps not enough resolve and skill to digest and, above all, to consistently realize them all.

The seventh plenum should be a warning in this regard for everyone, especially for the highest levels of the party and state authority.

Contradictions, which go hand in hand with the reforms, originate with classes, groups, and branches or with just to production enterprises.

That is why almost every decision is for someone and something or against someone and something. Consequently, a decision is not something "that everyone may enjoy." A decision is a choice made in practice and in action by party organizations, cells, aktivs, and members, who, being an organic part of a multifarious society, share in, are subject to, and express contradictions. However, what matters is that the party bodies and members displace these contradictions with the overriding interests resulting from the party statute and program and from the resolutions adopted by the 10th party congress and by the Central Committee plenums. Actually, this is and will be the central feature of party integrity.

Let us review this point against the background of recent incidents. In contrast with the situation of 8 years ago, this time party members were not among the organizers of strikes nor were they among the participants in them, except for a few exceptions, about which individual evaluations were issued. But there were many party members among those people who helped to calm public sentiment. These party members hailed from managerial cadres, technical supervisors, activists in self-management bodies and trade unions, and first-line production workers.

All of them deserve our praise.

However, there were many passive people and those sitting on the fence. Once again people were faced with the iron necessity to take sides not in general terms at some calm meeting, but in specific and clear terms during an acute clash of various views.

It also became obvious that some party cells and their apparatus, beginning with the Central Committee, are still not quite sufficiently aware of people's moods and problems. They have still not learned to maintain direct contacts with work forces, to convince them, to conduct disputes, and to wage "face-to-face" polemics.

Before anyone can hold managerial posts in the party, he must be able to fully learn those skills and to reject once and for all the methods of self-righteous decisionmaking behind closed doors.

The party and all its echelons are an indivisible entity, a fact that imposes on the higher levels of the party the duty of maintaining close contacts with the masses of party members and of informing and consulting them so that all of them regard themselves as cosponsors and conscious executors of the party line.

We are a party of workers, we are servants of the working people, and we are the vanguard of the Polish left wing.

However, we take a Leninist view of our social radicalism, which means that our view of this radicalism does not go against the grain of life, but conforms with whatever is really feasible. Experience shows that it is relatively easy to cure the incipient disease of "leftism," but that it is very difficult to cure it when this disease reaches an advanced stage.

It is our duty to prove and guarantee each day with the help of all our work, decisions, and activities that there will be no return to obsolete methods and practices.

The party has long outlived the years when it used to tell the people what their thoughts were and what thoughts they should have. Today we deem it our fundamental duty to see our road signs in what the people feel and wish. Forcing someone to be happy is as useless as is the passive acceptance of the natural or rather backward flow of the stream of history.

It is our duty to listen to the working people's voices, although not all these voices can be regarded as final truth. However, it is a social fact that it is not a rarity for people to hold differing views and that we have often had to pay a heavy ransom for mishearing what the people had to say.

The proof of ideology is the solution of specific social problems and not in issuing declarations. It is a fact that every action or inaction is ideological in character and consequences.

The party's role, which has been developed in the course of history and in line with our system, needs to be always verified. Before the formal and moral foundations of party leadership can be confirmed and strengthened, the party must show that it is a servant of the workers class, the working people, and the people is the condition necessary for this.

This serving function includes sensitivity to human problems, wrongs, and troubles, which, although apparently small, are often of enormous significance for individual human beings and families even if regarded against the background of big problems.

That this is so is also attested to by the letters and requests addressed to the Central Committee and party cells. As of 1982, we have received over 400,000 of such letters a year, which is much more than is the case with other institutions.

It is a good thing that people turn to the party, but it is also a bad thing that the party has to act so often as the one who shakes the conscience of some offending offices, institutions, and public services.

In many cases citizens—especially those helpless and wronged ones, including retired people, who are at times treated like "the Moor who has done his duty"—are forced to wait without end to have their problems settled on the spot.

Taking a tougher line toward those who are indifferent to human problems and take their time over them is an important task for the Central Committee, the Central Control-Revision Commission, and all local party echelons.

The previous system of the command economy, which was based on the extreme centralization of methods, put the party committees in the role of a kind of "super supervisors." At present, learning the methods adjusted to the conditions of the reform and of more broadly conceived socialist democracy, the party is gradually turning away from the domination of the methods that involved institutional and administrative measures and is switching over to genuine political leadership.

Briefly, if you want to lead, allow others to act! And if you want to exert influence, make others independent and see that they take all responsibilities inherent in independence.

None of us can claim the monopoly for wisdom and for the privilege of infallibility. Still, the party is in possession of far-reaching historical interests, which we must change into positive social facts and for which we must win the largest numbers of adherents.

We are particularly interested in people who are dynamic, who are in the lead, and who go for creative changes and reforms. It is often the case that such individuals distrust hierarchic structures and formal authorities and are full of criticism and aggressiveness. To be able to rally and support such people, we must be a top-to-bottom party of individuals who have courage, initiative, and social sensitivity and who are deeply dedicated to socialism, but who will never come to terms with the ineffective and stagnant version of socialism.

We should be much more militant in winning new party candidates and members from among such people—primarily the workers who possess high qualifications, are prominent in their jobs and social activities, and who work in modern and efficient plants and branches of industry; the enlightened farmers; and the most valuable promoters of scientific-technological progress, science, and education. Let these people be with us! Let the fact that they join our ranks increase their ability to "fight their way through" and turn them into a shock troop of reforms and progress. This offers most room for new generations—for young "angry" but creative and constructive people who want to turn their "no" to "yes" for the benefit of all.

Public opinion polls continue to confirm that some young people are victims of confusion and no prospects, which causes apathy, a flight into strictly private affairs, and day dreams about emigrating or makes one a prey to demagogy or even to political manipulations by the adversary.

This is primarily a result of the poor effectiveness of our work with young people. In many respects we still continue to stick to the narrow declaratory precepts, which are often in conflict with life as it is and with the realities of one's conduct.

But unofficial leaders and active creators of community opinions can often be found in enterprises, schools, universities, worker hostels, and student homes. Who are these people? What are their goals? How do they develop one's views and attitudes?

Undoubtedly these people represent various characters, but one thing is certain: We must win their energy, criticism, and the gift of influence and transmute these qualities into the driving force of progress and into active service for the country.

Young people are not against the ideals of socialism. On the contrary, they express their genuine attachment to these ideals when they speak in their own voice and not in some distorted voices. When young people criticize, they often demonstrate in this way that they are aware of the absence or distortion of socialist values. Young people can accept only renewed and modern socialism, one that creates opportunities and conditions under which peaceful goals and aspirations can be achieved.

We know that difficulties, especially material difficulties and other disappointments, generate young people's bitterness and conflicts, which often find emotional outbursts. We must show more calm and understanding in responding to such outbursts. We must also always begin with searching our consciences to find out whether we have done all we can to ensure that the generations of Poles born in People's Poland are with us and not against us or are just neutral toward us. That is why the ninth party congress directives, which were confirmed and developed by the recent Politburo session, are still binding on the entire party, every party echelon, and all party comrades, regardless of where they do their work.

Progress in realizing the second stage of the economic reform and in balancing the economy is the only way to improve the living standards of the working people,

including young people. Nothing justifies the passivity of those bodies that fail to actively respond to genuine needs, especially when young people themselves offer solutions of how to meet these needs. In particular, this applies to housing construction, inventiveness, and rationalization. Young people must be certain that the party is with them in this regard, that it supports them, and that it is ready to eliminate various obstacles.

We regard the socialist youth union in a partnerlike manner. These unions can speak in their own voice. We value whatever represents their historic achievements, their present initiatives, and their effective activities. However, we must realize that these unions have still much work to accomplish within themselves and with the young people who are still not organized.

What we need in this connection is more youthful authenticity and fewer institutional forms borrowed from the party model.

In this connection, we should adopt the tough principle that whoever continues to stick to the conduct of a mentor or censor, and is unwilling or unable to establish contact with young people is unworthy of being called a party activist.

Party ranks represent invaluable capital: They include so many comrades who have served the party for a long time, who did not break down during its most difficult time, and who are now leaders in work and public life. Nevertheless, in line with the stand taken by the sixth Central Committee plenum, it is our wish that the comrades who left the party because there was too little socialism in it and not because they wanted to abandon socialism, should return to the party.

Universal individual talks will precede the national conference of delegates. Every party member and candidate should be asked whether he wants to and has the strength to realize the party line and to actively participate in developing his production enterprise and his environment.

There is no doubt that a decisive majority of our comrades will go with us, though there will certainly be those who will refuse to implement these tasks. There will also be comrades, such as panicmongers, drones, cynics, bureaucrats, and those who are indifferent to human problems, whom we should get rid of as soon as possible.

It is better to have fewer party members, if those who are with us are really ready to realize the party program and to fight for social justice and for the victory of the reforms.

That is why, following the planned evaluation of individual party members, we intend to present to the coming national conference of delegates a concept for renewing party cards before the 11th party congress.

Profound revaluations and sharp discussions continue to take place in the sphere of ideology. Issues such as the extension of accord, the coalition nature of government, and searches for pluralism make it increasingly necessary for the party to maintain its ideological clarity and identity. Our particular concern is that the party cadres, party aktivs, and all party members should continue to consistently appropriate the basic and enduring values of our Marxist-Leninist ideology.

With regard to the new theoretical solutions, they must be developed only through free and extensive discussions, during which various viewpoints, evaluations, and proposals should be compared. The party must demonstrate its ideological and intellectual courage and must become the chief creative center of the search for such solutions.

We expect that effective preparations for and a creative course of the third national theoretical-ideological conference and the extensive propagation of its achievements can help to achieve this goal.

The affirmation of Marxism-Leninism today amounts to the complete rehabilitation of the method of dialectics and to the rejection of the canons that, having been developed under strictly determined conditions of history, have long been regarded as a collection of unchangeable directives that neither time, nor the real balance of power, nor the aspirations of society could ever affect in any way at all.

The role of ideology in socialism does not represent some kind of censorship. It represents the driving force and a compass in the activities to change reality.

It is a law of nature that practice precedes theory in times of great transformations. That is why theory should be all the more in a hurry.

We expect that our party theoreticians and the third national theoretical-ideological conference will supply us with answers to the following questions:

—How is it possible, under the present conditions, to ensure complete harmony between the two fundamental component parts of the Leninist formula of the party—democratism and centralism? How can one strengthen the unity of action under conditions that make it possible for one to freely express one's various evaluations and views?

—How can one achieve a genuine democratization of the processes through which decisions are made and ensure that these processes are realized effectively?

—How can one develop the proportions between the party's leading and guiding role and the pluralistic model of social and political life?

—How can one strengthen the identity of the party that operates within and in favor of the framework of an extensive coalition, which is in favor of reforms?

—How can one combine highly efficient economic management with efforts to strengthen social justice and with the equality of the opportunities, assessments, and social security available to citizens?

—How can one ensure an effective representation of the interests of the workers class under the conditions of a flexible and comprehensive model of ownership and the economy?

—How can one reconcile the class principles of socialism with the permanence of the institution of private enterprise?

—How can one effectively utilize the available instruments of the party's cadre policy in favor of the process of reforms, and national agreement?

Comrades, the effective realization of the present detailed economic, political, and social tasks depends to a decisive extent on correct cadre policy.

Cadre policy is the mainspring of government and economic management and is one of the platforms of national agreement, and that is why it creates especially great interest and helps the people to evaluate the worth, image, and credibility of the party and the government.

In the past few years we have tackled cadre policy in a consistent and thorough manner. "The Main Principles of the PZPR's Cadre Policy," which were adopted by the 13th plenum, became a new and creative directive for this policy. The decisions that the Politburo made in May 1986 increased the efficiency of the methods by which that policy could be implemented. In addition, the fourth plenum specified the rights and duties of primary party organizations in this regard.

The information published last week by the Central Committee Department of Cadre Policy evaluated progress in implementing these solutions.

The sixth plenum deemed it necessary to examine the issues of cadre policy in connection with the tasks and goals of the second stage of the economic reform, and the discussion of this issue has produced many useful proposals.

Central Committee members, many party cells and organizations, PRON, and the Consultative Council have all made valuable contributions to this discussion. Scientists and practitioners have aired their views and proposals in the mass media and during many meetings.

The Central Committee will certainly use the results of those discussions for the benefit of its resolution and of further work to improve party activities in cadre policy.

It would be an error to detach cadre policy from various determining factors. Many personnel changes have occurred in recent years, but, unfortunately, in many cases these changes have not been successful. The reasons for this have not been defective selection criteria or poor candidates. The most frequent reason has been the fact that valuable people with prospects have continued to sink into the mire of anachronistic and obsolete structures and into the inefficient system of organization amidst the frustrated and parochial environment. But we should not regard such conditions as a kind of excuse, especially since there is no lack of bold, strong,and dynamic individuals who are able to fight their way through various difficulties and obstacles, to score greater and better achievements than other individuals, and to inspire other people to follow them. These individuals are genuine "heroes of our reforms."

Speaking of inertia and conservatism, we have in mind three kinds of such features: old habits, dogmatic views, and, what is worst of all, selfish interests. Every such feature is a brake on changes, progress, and development.

In order to be able to overcome such features, it is necessary to attack them from two flanks, so to speak. On the one hand, they should be attacked with the help of the deep processes of the reform based on the principles of cost effectiveness, which will gradually develop objective criteria for evaluation of performance, produce measures that safeguard the right course of activities, and enforce the rationalization of organization and management.

On the other hand, those features should be attacked by efforts to effectively utilize the principles and instruments of cadre policy in order to eliminate inertia and incompetence and to stimulate the tendency to forge ahead.

The changes that have taken place in cadre policy until now represent only a beginning. Objective criticism of weaknesses, the dodging of responsibility, and inconsistency must mean more than simply help in this process. We listen to this kind of criticism very carefully.

But, at the same time, the scenario that is fashionable in certain communities does not correspond to reality. According to it, there would almost seem to be thousands of potential candidates for all manner of posts just waiting at streetcar stops, but the party does not want to take them up, because it sticks to its "own" people and defends those who are incompetent and inefficient at the expense of those who are outstanding, but ignored.

It is true that, even today, there are frequent cases perversions of the idea of the "good comrade," of using it to conceal situations in which a post has outlived its use.

However, there are incomparably more people of whom, regardless of their age or the generation of party members that they represent, the party can be proud. Our ranks contain outstanding figures in science and technology, in culture and the arts, people who possess indisputable authority and have many great achievements to their name. There are directors that no country and no company of world renown would be ashamed of. There are state activists of high calibre. The party apparatus, which has been rejuvenated in recent years, and its team of theoretical workers contains modern-minded activists. There are outstanding members of employee councils, trade union governing bodies, and social organizations and associations who have been democratically elected mainly by nonparty members. By their actions, these comrades provide confirmation of the idea of leadership by virtue of excellence and efficiency.

The allied parties and other PRON groups also contain such people. Their leaders contain many nonparty members who subscribe to various philosophies. This is the best argument for not asking what someone believes in, but what he is capable of doing, how does he work, what does he achieve, and what kind of contribution does he make. The yardstick for assessing someone's value is not his party affiliation but his conscientiousness, ability, and, above all, efficiency.

To be effective, the mechanisms of the new cadre policy must, above all, be selective in the sense of separating what is socially effective from what is socially ineffective. Performance ought to become the foundation of all evaluation systems—those that apply to the government, the central and regional administrations, directors of schools and enterprises, and plant foremen. This is an objective and measurable criterion that makes it possible to fairly assess who is creating progress and who is only benefiting from it, who is in favor of real socialism and who only says so.

Cadre policy has many directions. Its rhythm is exceptionally important. In particular, it is a question of there not being any artificial barriers. Today, it is often not enough for someone to be simply good. If someone else is better or very good, he should take over as quickly as possible. The essence of the matter should be that the person who can do more, ought to be promoted quickly. On the other hand, a person who has not proved his worth should be transferred to a job that he can do without delay.

There is also a bitter paradox: Many of those who are angry at socialism and distance themselves from constructive activity in fact owe the social advancement of their parents and their own education and aspirations to the social revolution conducted under the leadership of the party and the Polish left. This is not an excuse, but a statement of fact and, as we know, not an isolated fact.

The first postrevolutionary stage of development was characterized by a great historical process—a universal change in the status of the masses. It was the product of urbanization, industrialization, access to secondary and higher education, and, thanks to this, access to occupations associated with the intelligentsia and managerial posts. By the very nature of things, class factors and quantitative criteria were predominant in this process.

Today, history continues to be created by the masses. The transition from extensive to intensive paths of development is on the agenda for Poland and the entire socialist community. The scientific and technical revolution and the reliance on economic efficiency, more rapid progress, and democratic forms immeasurably raise the importance of making the best possible use of individual inclinations and gifts.

It is a question of rapidly identifying, preparing, and promoting those who, thanks to their positive qualities, are able to win contests, come out on top in competition under democratic procedures, exceed the average, and get other people to follow them.

Not quantity but quality, not uniformity but diversity in assessments are the key to activity during the current stage of development. In this sense, we cannot avoid but, on the contrary, we should pose and solve the problem of the cadre vanguard, a kind of action elite under socialism. This is one of the more complicated questions that life poses for Marxist-Leninist theory.

At the 19th plenum we stressed that an alliance between the workers class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia is necessary for Poland's socialist development.

The party is aware of the material difficulties that are being felt by many different intelligentsia communities today. When resources are in short supply, it is all the more important to distribute those that are available logically and justly. While taking account of the whole variety of roles and degrees of responsibility, of creative features and requirements, and of real contributions to the development of the country, we have to eliminate unjustified disparities and stop specific occupational groups from falling behind in material terms.

The cultivation of appropriate pay differentials between various intelligentsia groups and wage levels in the entire economy calls for concrete actions in two spheres: the budget sphere, and within the framework of incentive pay systems that are employed independently by enterprises.

The Central Committee attaches great importance to this. We hope that the government will conduct work in this direction in a very vigorous and far-reaching way.

Concern about the material position and status of people and groups that are leaders of progress does, of course, also apply to the nation's main strength—the workers class. However, it is not monolithic.

The class approach is, above all, a matter of relying on those who affirm the best worker features and traditions by their high level of skills and conscientiousness, and innovativeness in the field of technology and work organization.

The rate of advancement of outstanding workers and peasants has slowed down. That is why, in line with the resolutions adopted at the 11th and 16th plenums, a particularly important area of our party's cadre policy lies in their occupational promotion and paving the way for posts on party committees and representative bodies at all levels, posts in self-management bodies, the trade union movement, and social organizations and advisory bodies.

To put it as simply as possible, cadre policy contains three main criteria: being a reliable person, a sound specialist, and a good citizen of the PPR.

These criteria, which are, in a universal sense, always the same must be appropriate to both the varied requirements of work in the party apparatus and economic structures, and the specific features of a given level and post.

This variety has to be taken into consideration, not by way of the detailed regimentation of cadre moves, but, on the contrary, by increasing the scope for bold, unconventional decisions.

Cadre policy is an inseparable attribute of power. Related to this is the right and duty of the party to designate its activists for key posts that are determined under a coalition system. Whoever questions this right should first of all point to a ruling party that has surrendered this right.

However, the past, which has frequently been subjected to harsh criticism, has made the changing of the way in which the party influences life and the changes taking place in it, including its influence on cadre policy, one of today's most important issue.

We have to conduct cadre policy democratically and not in a cavalier fashion. We cannot conduct it arbitrarily, by way of orders, and announcements to the effect that "our" people are better. We have to provide substantive evidence and arguments to show that ours are better, by providing convincing justification and displaying concern that candidacies are understood by society and enjoy its approval.

The question of the nomenklatura arises again and again. This is not only because of echoes from the past, but also because of the fact that, although it has been officially abandoned, there is still more than one area where this kind of thinking persists and where attempts are being made to reactivate the system under another name. A great many doubts have arisen that require explanation. This is reflected in, among other things, three negative phenomena:—first, the excessive length of lists drawn up by party committees, including primary party organizations, of posts that require their approval, which is something that runs counter to the principles that are in force;—second, substituting the arbitrary opinion of a secretary or a narrow circle of "initiates" for the position of the entire primary party organization, which has been discussed with nonparty members who enjoy respect in line with needs;—third, the tendency of some managements to ignore positive or negative opinions expressed by primary party organizations.

The Politburo proposes that the Central Committee express its clear opposition to every one of these wrong practices, as well as to these practices as a whole.

There are two main areas for party influence on cadre policy.

First, those posts that are filled with party approval—the Politburo proposes that their number be significantly reduced.

Second, the system of recommendations and opinions.

Alongside the change in the principles underlying cadre policy, a new cadre policy mechanism has been set in motion. The party already has a certain amount of experience in applying the principles. However, those elements that are connected with obtaining public understanding, approval, and support are being introduced too slowly, unevenly, and are encountering resistance.

Openness—seeking the opinions of the collective, publishing lists of candidates, informing work forces about the reasons for particular decisions—is not the rule yet. This is an important and productive field for initiatives, which will strengthen the actual authority of the party and, above all, confidence in it.

There needs to be an expansion of the system of cadre selection by competitive means. In addition to covering posts of enterprise director, it should be extended to include managerial posts in the state administration, education and culture, the health service, and the cooperative movement. An increase in the range of potential candidates—one that includes applications by candidates themselves—often comes up against a reluctance to assess individuals who come from outside, from outside one's own institution or enterprise. This runs counter to both the interests of society and those of individual work forces. Party echelons and organizations should be resolute in acting against this kind of approach.

The cadre reserve system has a special role to play. Its main defect is low selection criteria, which means that as a result it contains an excessive number of people and, at the same time, has a constant shortage of young people who are geared toward the future. In addition, the following forms are not employed: periods of practical experience in leading plants and assistantships in the offices of outstanding directors; periodic "doubling" of bosses; and training in new legal solutions, technological innovations, and management and work organization techniques.

The results of the periodic cadre assessments and reviews conducted over the last few years have made it possible to verify people in a natural and not an "emergency" way.

However, formalization, superficiality, and liberalism are a weakness. The overwhelming number of very good and good assessments does not mean that things are going according to plan, but that low standards are often employed and that concessions are made to leniency and self-complacency.

It is necessary to resolutely step up requirements with respect to people who occupy managerial posts in areas that have the greatest impact on everyday existence: trade, consumer services, and public and communal services.

Their work has not only a political, but also a profoundly moral aspect. Incompetence, neglect, and instances of stupidity make people's lives difficult, and impose a burden on the mood of society, including public assessments of the state and the party. Thus, these functions entail a special kind of responsibility. Those who are unable to discharge these responsibilities should be shed as quickly as possible. This is also an important field for party demands and rapid response.

The general principles of cadre policy continue to be applied in practice in enterprises, institutions, communities, and schools, in which most talented students should be selected and promoted from the very beginning. The Politburo is in favor of changing the regulations that determine promotion by the years of service and hinder a more rapid development of younger talented cadres.

Regulations should be coherent, transparent, and just. Workers have the right to know what to do to be able to be promoted, how far the enterprises or institution will help them, and what benefits and duties await them. A knowledge of promotion prospects stimulates aspirations and professional development, and ties people to their jobs.

We still have no satisfactory system of promotion that does not consist of ever larger office rooms and desks, and of a higher place in the hierarchy of authority. The system that spurs one to achieve professional mastery and does not impose administrative duties on the most creative people is still very slow in coming.

Although those who are prone to lower requirements and to tolerate disorder and waste are the first to grumble about excessive control, we should seriously view the criticism of the existing control system. The second stage of the reform makes it necessary to take a different look at things and to make crucial reassessments. The present system of control was created in another time, and that is why its methods are not fully consistent with and partially depart from the new economic solutions and mechanisms.

Necessary changes should take place during the general reconstruction of the structures of the state and the economy. Suitable plans are under way. The Politburo expects that party members operating the control system will see that control is increasingly better, penetrating, and effective.

Comrades, accelerating and intensifying our reforms and overcoming whatever hinders them is also a task dictated by Poland's international position.

The socialist community's present position is basically different from what it was when we began our renewal. Everyone is convinced that it is necessary to make changes to enable us to respond to the challenges of the end of the 20th century and to trigger and strengthen the development forces and capabilities of socialism.

The drive toward restructuring continues to assert itself in many socialist countries and to assume various forms, in line with historical and national determining factors and needs. However, everyone is convinced that socialism cannot mark time and that bold searches for effective solutions are necessary in order to fully trigger its creative potential.

This helps to create international determining factors that are beneficial for our policy of socialist renewal.

We have begun renewal quite early, and many fraternal parties continue to take a lively interest in our tested experience. We, too, are keen students of their solutions and try to exploit what may be productive under our conditions. The ideas and practice of internationalism continue to acquire new creative values in this process, which has embraced the world of socialism.

We attach special importance to the changes carried out by the CPSU. The philosophies of Polish renewal and Soviet perestroyka have the same ideological source and are heading in the same direction.

This is creating exceptionally favorable conditions for strengthening our friendship, productive exchanges of experiences, and new comprehensive cooperation, which is of capital significance for Poland's fate and stronger

position. We are convinced that the coming 19th CPSU conference will produce decisions that will confirm and consolidate the present achievements of restructuring and will help expand and intensify them. This is what we wholeheartedly wish the Soviet Communists and peoples. The program of perestroyka goes hand in hand with new political thinking about the problems of the contemporary world. This program is now the foundation of the peaceful strategy of socialism on the most extensive international scale.

The dialogue that is developing between the two great powers continues to exert an important influence on the process of detente and on improving the general atmosphere. The Moscow summit meeting makes us hope that this process will continue to develop for the benefit of the world.

In July we in Poland will give a very respectful, cordial, and warm welcome to CPSU General Secretary Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, whose name stands for the revitalizing changes in the USSR and in international relations.

His visit will certainly write an important new chapter in the book of the alliance, friendship, and cooperation between our fraternal countries.

Poland is present and active in the arena of Europe and the world, and this helps to strengthen its position.

However, the problem is more complicated. We see two Western approaches to our country. One approach, which follows the logic of detente, indicates readiness to normalize relations with us and to promote equal and mutually advantageous cooperation. The second approach regards Poland as a pawn and seeks to weaken its international position. We hope that the first approach will win the upper hand.

Poland's membership of the socialist community acquires even greater significance against this background. However, the weight of this factor depends on the position occupied by our country. We know that declarations will not win us this place. What decides is the genuine effectiveness of realizing the program of socialist renewal, which is expressed by the efficiency and development of the economy and by progress in democracy, in promoting social militancy, and in modernizing and strengthening the state.

The proposals for specific decisions and for ways to implement them, which the Politburo has presented to the Central Committee, open up real prospects for overcoming the resistance to and the weaknesses of progress in the economy and political and public life.

Comrades, I thank you for listening to this extensive report. However, what matters is not what will be said at this forum, but how far that which has been said in plenum speeches and in the plenum resolution serves as a stimulus for action in all big and small sectors of our life and daily party practice.

It is true that such action is difficult, but we should remember that, even in much more difficult situations, we have been able to forge words into deeds. This time we must do the same thing. Although time is generous toward us with troubles and disappointments, we can still turn it to advantage for our people and for socialist Poland.

Ceausescu Returns Home, Seen Off by Jaruzelski

AU1607160888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1442 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 16/7/1988—July 16, RCP general secretary, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu returned to Bucharest from Warsaw where he had attended a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was accompanied by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Romanian prime minister; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the RCP's CC; Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP's CC, minister of national defence; Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP's CC, foreign affairs minister.

Upon arrival at the Otopeni Airport, the Romanian party and state leader was greeted by Elena Ceausescu, by members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP's CC, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, by members of the RCP's CC, of the State Council and of the government, by representatives of central institutions, mass and public organizations.

Present were the ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Bucharest, and members of his embassy.

Romanian and Polish Young Pioneers presented President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu with bouquets of flowers.

Upon departure from Warsaw, at the Okecie Airport, President Nicolae Ceausescu was seen off by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and other Polish officials.

Andrei, Ungur Meet Israeli Trade Minister

AU1507155588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1443 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 15/7/1988—Stefan Andrei, Romanian deputy prime minister, met on 15 July, in Bucharest with Ari'el Sharon, minister of industry and trade of Israel, now visiting Romania.

They approached questions related to the development of the Romanian-Israeli economic collaboration in domains of mutual interest, the expansion and diversification of trade exchanges on mutually advantageous terms.

The guest also had interviews with Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and with executives of other economic ministries.

Cuban Military Visit, Meet Milea, I. Ceausescu

AU1607160788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1427 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 16/7/1988—12-16 July, a Cuban military delegation led by Col. Humberto Hernandez Garcia, first deputy head of the Central Political Department of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba, paid a visit to Romania.

The Cuban guests were received by Col.-Gen. Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, national defence minister. On the occasion, the friendly links between the parties, peoples and armies of the two countries were evoked and new ways and means were singled out to expand the collaboration between the two armies. The interview was attended by Niel Ruiz Guerra, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba in Bucharest.

While in Romania, the guests had talks with a delegation of party activists headed by Lieut.-Gen. Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defence and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army. On the occasion, an exchange of experience was made on questions of the party, organizational and politico-educative work in the armies of the two countries.

Ceausescu National Day Message to Mitterrand

AU1807143488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 88 p 5

["On the National Day of France," message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic]

[Text] To Mr Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, Paris

On the anniversary of the national day of the French Republic, I take pleasure in conveying to you sincere greetings and wishes for personal happiness, together with wishes for prosperity to the friendly French people.

I express the belief that the relations of traditional friendship and cooperation between Romania and France will continue to fruitfully develop in multiple areas, for the benefit of the Romanian and French people and in the interest of peace and international cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

Interference in Domestic Affairs Decried

AU1507131688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1056 GMT 15 Jul 88

["The Nation, the National State—Essential Factors of Social Progress"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/7/1988—The tendency toward nation-formation or toward the strengthening and flourishing of the existing nations on a new basis in the new conditions has been highly characteristic of the world today, political scientist Ovidiu Trasnea shows in an article in the 14 July issue of newspaper "SCINTEIA," as part of the debates preceding a CC of the RCP plenum. Our time, the first in history, when sovereign states are a worldwide fact, the author says, adding that national communities and sovereign states are, politically speaking, the world's only sure and legitimate prospect for the future.

Against cosmopolitanist, nihilistic tendencies that negate reality and the rights of nations, against tendencies to limit or annihilate the independence and sovereignty of states, the Ninth RCP Congress (1965) promoted a policy founded on the principles of independence and sovereignty, noninterference and cooperation,"SCINTEIA" writes recalling Nicolae Ceausescu's recent emphasis on that crucial moment in the history of the country: "An end was put to past negative situation and the sense of patriotic pride was restored to our people, alongside respect for its millenary past, national dignity and strength to build its new socialist life as it wishes."

Highlighting the fact that it took Romania a long time in history to develop into a unitary national state that has new characteristics, new dimensions in socialism-,"SCINTEIA" shows that the essential change that laid its mark on the flourishing of the nation was the dissolution of the exploiting classes, the liquidation of the antagonistic character of the social structure, the furthering of the social homogenization process. The foundation for all these qualitative changes, underlines the newspaper, was the socialist ownership of the means of production, the fast pace of growth and the harmonious location in the territory of the forces of production. The new state power—an expression of the people's sovereign will—added new meanings to national and state sovereignty, as the economic growth of the country gave a new basis to the independence of the nation.

The attack of reactionary circles on the nation which, against historical evidence, is depicted as an allegedly outmoded community go hand in hand with those against the national state and its sovereignty, says the author who adds that they reflect the concern of those circles over the renewing processes in today's world, over the advances of peoples in building the news social system, over the new international relations. Anti-state and anti-nation utopias are put in the service of the imperialist policy of domination and dictate, of the expansionistic policy, of violation or failure to observe the lawful interests of peoples. The "mondialist" or integrationist solutions are aimed against sovereignty, they pursue to justify direct or indirect subordination of some peoples by others, of interference in the domestic affairs of states, and even military intervention.

In reality, "SCINTEIA" writes, true universality requires that all states take part in decision-making as sovereign entities, hence the respect for each one's distinctive features and sovereignty. That is so because there are in the world today new processes which left their mark also on the states' home-to-foreign policy relationship as well as on international relations, and which are "assimilated" by each state in its own way. These processes can only lead to a demand for the strengthening of the socialist state and for the differentation of its functions. Socialism gives the principle of sovereignty a new and better framework for expression, "SCINTEIA" writes, underscoring the right of each socialist state, of each socialist nation to choose its own forms and ways of socialist construction—socially, politically, economically, culturally, etc. To develop its own model of socialist society trough a creative application of the principles of scientific socialism.

The values that the RCP and the Romanian State have firmly and constantly set at the basis of the relations among socialist states, among communist and worker parties, and at the basis of its relations with all the states have increasingly won international respect and audience, the newspaper goes on and adds: That being so it is even more difficult to understand theses and attitudes in the position of socialist states and worker parties that have nothing in common with the values and essence of socialism, of interstate and inter-parties relations, that seem to have rather been taken from the political and ideological arsenal of the past.

Romania has steadfastly set its international relations, its ties with other states on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, renunciation of the threat and use of force. Romania worked and works for the promotion of these principles and their firm translation into international life, for their extension to the relations among all states, for the establishment of a new international order, for the democratization of international relations. It is the high historic responsibility of socialist countries, "SCINTEIA" goes on, to work for the promotion of these principles in international life, to build new relations—both among themselves and worldwide—as an embodiment of the advanced principles of international law, as a model for all peoples outlining the bright prospects of the future course of their free and equal cooperation.

The global character of today's economic, technological, social, and political problems calls for global solutions and for an active participation of all states, whatever

their size, social system, or geographical area, for a wide democratization of international relations, for the best forms of settling them through joint efforts, by common agreement and negotiation. Hence the central role of sovereignty and independence as a key idea on which depends the understanding and observance of a policy that meets the real interests of all nations, "SCINTEIA" winds up.

Magyar, German Area Targeted for Redevelopment
AU1507182088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 15 Jul 88

["Future Agroindustrial Centres"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/7/1988—Mures County, in the northern part of central Romania, is the 11th of the country's 40 counties in point of surface (nearly 6,700 sq.km.) and the 14th in point of number of residents (617,191 on the first of January, 1988). Apart from the majority Romanian population, who have been inhabiting the area since times immemorial and make the majority, there are many Romanian citizens of Magyar and German nationality.

The county's six towns—county seat Tg. Mures, Sighisoara, Reghin, Ludus, Tirnaveni and Sovata—are the leading economic centres in that part of the country, with 297,548 people living and working there (48.3 percent of the population). In future, according to county chief architect Arpad Burkhardt, of the county's 91 communes as many as 18, which currently are seats of joint state and cooperative agricultural councils, will become agroindustrial centres.

At a first stage it is Iernut Commune, which already has the utilities and structures of a town—blocks of flats, economic enterprises, a developed network of services, etc—that is to become an agroindustrial centre. This year alone more than 100 flats will be built there.

The second stage focuses on another three localities: Sarmasu, Singeorgiu de Padure and Miercurea Nirajului. Right now each of them has more than 5,000 residents, their number being expected to grow to 10,000 as a result of intensive industrial development.

Another 14 communes—localities where at present stress falls on agricultural activities—will become agroindustrial centres at a third stage.

By and large the towns existing in the county will preserve their current surface but their population is to grow. According to estimates, by the year 1990, more than half of the county's residents will live in towns. Over the next two years as many as 2,700 new apartments will be built throughout Mures County. Architects pay special attention to preserving local features, the new buildings taking after the traditional style in point of facades, rooftops and volumes.

Agrokomerc Workers End Protest

LD1507182688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1602 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 15 (TANJUG)—A seven-hour talk between some 1,500 workers of the Agrokomerc agriculture complex and officials of the federation and Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina ended this afternoon with the adoption of most of their demands.

The Agrokomerc workers came to Belgrade to protest early this morning.

The workers have been guaranteed a minimum income of 176,000 dinars (75 dollars) for this month and will receive vacation pay equal to average workers' salaries in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Agrokomerc will receive 10 billion dinars to renew production in the next five days. Production in some parts of the complex stopped completely after the country's largest post-war financial affair broke out. The affair was caused by the issuing of around 900 million dollars in unbacked promissory notes.

The crisis left 3,700 of Agrokomerc's 13,000 workers without jobs.

The demands made by 1,500 Agrokomerc workers in the Belgrade trade unions' building today were made in the name of workers who went on strike yesterday in Velika Kladusa.

The workers shortly demanded that they be enabled to work and that they be paid what they earn.

Federation representatives promised the workers that raw materials would be secured for production and that they would come to Velika Kladusa as soon as possible to help find the best solution to revive production in the complex.

'Most' Demands Accepted

LD1507151288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1403 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jul (TANJUG)—At about 1530, after 7 hours of talks with oficials of the federation and Bosnia-Hercegovina, Agrokomerc workers left the grand hall of the Trade Union club. The talks ended with adoption of most of the demands of the Velika Kladusa workers. Apart from the guaranteed personal income for June of 176,000 dinars, workers will also receive subsidies equalling the average ones in Bosnia-Hercegovina [as received].

Apart from this, and also within 5 days, Agrokomerc will receive 1 trillion old dinars for the revival of production.

Agrokomerc workers agreed to visit the Flower House [Tito's tomb] prior to their departure from Belgrade.

Kosovo Polje Serbs Hold Protest Meeting

AU1707201388 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] A protest meeting of about 5,000 people from Kosovo Polje and other places was held in Kosovo Polje at about 1900. The protest was about the last session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee. The attack on the Serbian leadership represents an attack on all Serbs, Montenegrins, and non-Albanian citizens in Kosovo, as well as a direct support to Albanian separatism. This was stated by Sreten Martinovic, president of the SAWP of the 17th local commune, who opened the meeting.

The gathering was addressed by Zoran Grujic, who said that the citizens of Kosovo fully support the Serbian LC Central Committee and its president, Slobodan Milosevic. Expressing thanks to the citizens of Novi Sad for their solidarity expressed during the recent visit by Kosovo Serbs to Novi Sad, he said that this visit received completely different dimensions and meanings. It was used by the Vojvodina leadership to promote some of their aims, and to attack the Serbian LC Central Committee and its Presidium. This aim, Grujic said, is to hinder constitutional changes and to make it difficult for Serbia to attain the status of a state. Grujic said that the assessment of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and Bosko Krunic's recent speech should be understood as fabricated presuppositions and malicious tricks. He stressed that Bosko Krunic, Petar Matic, Djordje Radosavljevic, and Djordje Stojsic could adversely affect unity in the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia through their political conduct and irresponsibility.

Around 2000 a similar gathering was held in Gracanica.

SAWP Views Novi Sad Protest

AU1707165088 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 13 Jul 88 p 11

[R. Demiri, R. Tahiri article: "The Aim: 'To Draw Attention to the Constitutional Changes'"]

[Text] Yesterday evening's meeting of the Kosovo Polje 16th Local Community discussed the recent trip of a group of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad. Stevan Marinkovic, in the opening speech he made in the name of the steering committee that organized the trip, recalled that it was the 16th Local Community SAWP Branch that had directed the committee to organize the trip of the Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad. It had been agreed then, he said, that the aim of our visit was to inform the Vojvodina leadership how the tasks stemming from the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee plenum and the Yugoslav program for stabilizing the situation in Kosovo are not being carried out. We agreed then to draw the attention of the Vojvodina leadership to the fact that opposition to the proposals of the Serbian Assembly Constitutional Committee is unreasonable and furthers the disintegration and fragmentation of the republic, and thereby of Yugoslavia as

a whole. Our task was to tell the responsible people in Vojvodina that their standpoint merely helps further the aims of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, that there is no reasonable basis for their attitude, and that it places a question mark over the further existence of Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, Turks, Moslems, and Yugoslav-minded Albanians in Kosovo. Stevan Marinkovic said that we did not manage to carry out this task, because we did not talk to the Vojvodina leadership. In all, 370 citizens went from Kosovo, and there was fairly precise evidence to say who they were and where they were from. After describing their journey, their procession through the streets of Novi Sad, their discussion with the security authorities, and the power cut during their speeches, Marinkovic said that "The Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo were joined by 12,000 citizens of Novi Sad." According to him, they allegedly called for Krunic, holding him responsible for the situation in the country and for relations within Serbia; their calls were echoed by the citizens from Kosovo. The committee took the view that the purpose of the commentary of Novi Sad Television produced before their arrival was to compromise them and give another hue to the aim of their visit. The steering committee took the view that the trip to Novi Sad had been successful, although there had been no talk with the leadership of the Province of Vojvodina.

We Cannot Reconcile Ourselves to the Attitudes of the Vojvodina Leadership [subhead]

According to them, the citizens of Novi Sad and other parts of Vojvodina openly and cordially welcomed them and expressed sorrow both at the difficult position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and also when it was a question of the future constitutional changes in Serbia. There had also been attempts at provocation, but these, according to the council, were refused by the citizens from Kosovo. The statement prepared by the steering committee said that "We want our Republic of Serbia to be equal to other republics within the framework of the socialist, self-managing Yugoslav community." We do not want borders to be redrawn; we want to preserve the nation's integrity." We do not want bloodshed, but open dialogue about all issues. Leaders who are not ready for change and dialogue must go. Here we must frankly say that "The behavior of the leaders of Novi Sad and Vojvodina SAWP is dangerous, selfish, and extremely disturbing." The speaker went on to say that they even fail to see that the people have no confidence in them and that they are not representative of them; they fail to realize that they are playing with fire. Out of a desire to keep their comfortable armchairs, they are seeking to confront the people and divide them. Bosko Krunic's assessment of our stay in Novi Sad "proves once again that he is one of the main ideologists of Vojvodina policy, which is suits the purposes of the nationalists and separatists in Kosovo." It is now finally clear why the conclusions of the ninth plenum on Kosovo are not being carried out, why the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo is not improving, why emigration is continuing, why the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists is not being cut at its roots, and why the sources of finance for the counterrevolution in Kosovo have not been blocked. He added that the man who until yesterday was the first in the party tried as far as possible to separate Vojvodina from the SR of Serbia and to cultivate specific characteristics in the inhabitants of Vojvodina in an attempt to create a separate people.

Stevan Marinkovic concluded by proposing, in the name of the steering committee, that the gathering should dissociate itself from all the baseless accusations and insinuations in the communiques of the Vojvodina leadership and in Bosko Krunic's speech, and express its disagreement with the way the media are communicating with the people.

Speeches Support the Work of the Steering Committee [subhead]

Fifteen speakers from Kosovo Polje, Pristina, and surrounding villages spoke in the debate on the opening speech delivered in the name of the steering committee that had organized the trip of the Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad; they wholly supported this opening speech.

Bosko Budimirovic stressed that they had accomplished their task and that he had known beforehand that the Vojvodina leadership would not receive them. If it is necessary, he said, we will organize another journey of citizens to another town in the country in order to testify to Kosovo problems. Sreten Martinovic said that the general Yugoslav economic, political, and social crisis is especially reflected in Kosovo, where Serbs and Montenegrins have been emigrating for decades on end, especially after the approval of the constitutional amendments of 1968 and after the Constitution of 1974. The Serbs and Montenegrins had gone to Novi Sad to demand constitutional amendments and to testify to the situation in Kosovo. Zivojin Mitrovic said that the steering committee has the support of all the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and that whatever happened to it, they would all share its fate together and stand behind it. Radojka Miocin said that the people of Vojvodina must be thanked for the welcome they extended to us, and that the Vojvodina armchair-holders should be ashamed of themselves. We are all in favor of Yugoslavia and have fought under one flag, and if the Albanians want to leave here, the road is open for them. Kosta Bulatovic said that it is now clear to him that the Vojvodina leadership does not enjoy the support of the people, because, were this the case, the leadership would have come out to talk to the people. This speaker said that the provinces have become states, because they have constitutions that they ought not to have, whereas Serbia, which is a state, should have a single constitution covering all its territory. This speaker said that he had not noticed the presence of nationalists and had not heard any nationalistic statements while in Novi Sad.

Slavko Djumic criticized the supposedly irresponsible behavior of the Vojvodina leadership, alleging that they sometimes say they are in favor of the amendments, and sometimes that they are not, and that nobody knows what principles they rely upon. "We are dealing with two kinds of separatism: separatists in Kosovo, and separatists in Vojvodina, who do not want a constitution according to the will of the mass of the people." Randjel Nojkic said that the slogan "Backa and Banat do not want a republic, while Pecinci does," was not the Kosovars' slogan, but the slogan of the inhabitants of Vojvodina, even though we stand entirely behind it. Bogdan Kecman said that "The Vojvodina leadership must consider how to behave; otherwise we will organize 50,000 Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to visit them." Slobodan Jankovic, secretary to the Pristina SAWP Communal Committee, said that he spoke as a local citizen and resident. We should not say, he said, that we went to Vojvodina, but to a part of Serbia. He remarked that there are differences between the Vojvodina people and leadership concerning the trip to Novi Sad by the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo.

In conclusion, there was a demand for solidarity with all those who took part in the trip to Novi Sad and with the citizens of the Vojvodina who joined them, "lest something unpleasant should happen to those who supported the Kosovars." "Support" was also given to the steering committee, which must continue its work "if there need arises for journeys" to other parts of the country.

Suvi Do Residents View Problem

LD1707024688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Pristina, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—During the Socialist Alliance meeting tonight, over 200 citizens of Serb and Montenegrin nationalities in Suvi Do near Lipljan unanimously endorsed the SR of Serbia proposals in connection with amending the republic's Constitution. They demanded that negotiations to reach an agreement should be speeded up and that the SR of Serbia should acquire the status to enable it to be responsible for national defense, security, the judiciary, and planning throughout its territory. Should this not be secured during the impending constitutional changes then, they warned, the inhabitants of this village will collectively emigrate from Kosovo.

Strong words were used during the meeting to point out all the consequences which surfaced in Kosovo because, they believe, of the inability of the SR of Serbia to influence the province and the strategy and tactics of Albanian nationalists to create an ethnically pure Kosovo so that they can secede from Yugoslavia. The Suvi Do inhabitants believe that the responsibility for the situation in Kosovo is borne by several former top men in the republic and in the country.

The Suvi Do inhabitants, who during the war to a man were on the side of the national liberation movement and who had 35 killed, also unanimously demanded an end to the disagreements, disunity, and demolition of Yugoslavia. They singled out for criticism the leadership of Vojvodina and their behavior during the stay in Novi Sad by citizens from Kosovo. In so doing, they endorsed the assessments and stands of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and stressed that the rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins were not nationalistic. They were the final warning about their present hopeless situation in Kosovo.

Setinc on Nationalities Issue

LD1407090488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Pristina, July 13 (TANJUG)—Only by creating a common front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and Romanies, that is, of all those who live on the territory of the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo, can the negative trend of nationalistic divisions be contained, Yugoslav top party leadership member Franc Setinc said today at a session of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists.

The provincial committee determined the party action programme for promoting inter-nationality relations and the policy of national equality.

Inter-nationality relations in Kosovo which has an 80 per cent Albanian population, have been especially upset since 1981 when unrest broke out in Pristina and Albanian [word indistinct] chauvinists proclaimed as their goal the establishment of an ethnically pure Kosovo. Since then, members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities have been migrating from the province under pressure, and people of Turkish and Romany nationality are also leaving.

We will get nowhere with conflicts, and least of all achieve a stable society, Setinc said. He assessed the inter-nationality relations in Kosovo as unfavourable.

Setinc called for the strengthening of legality and the authority of state institutions. He said force must be restored in Kosovo so that no one need fear for his security and property.

The action of state organs in the province must be more energetic, but must have the massive support of working people, primarily Albanians who, as the majority, are morally responsible for ensuring legal security for Serbs, Montenegrins and others in Kosovo. People should be told that this is a question of their dignity. The pressures being exerted on people to migrate are a disgrace to a society on the threshold of the 20th century [as received], he said.

He pointed out the fact that a family planning programme, as one of the basic requirements for overcoming the difficult situation, has not yet been implemented in Kosovo.

A good demographic policy, he said, is one of the conditions for the faster development of society. Kosovo's annual birth rate of 2.4 per cent is the highest in Europe. He said that the Albanians must be the main factors in implementing the demographic policy and they must become totally aware that family planning will ensure Kosovo's faster economic and social development.

Serbian LC Central Committee Session

LD1607102688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic service in Serbo-croatian 0824 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Today, 7 years since the counterrevolution in Kosovo, many of its causes have not yet been eradicated nor all of its consequences eliminated. Expectations by the LC membership, citizens, and the entire public are justifiably great and their sensitivity to the slow pace at which problems are being resolved, to cover-ups, to forum-type and routine work and verbalism, is, as a result, all the greater. At the same time, the patience and understanding especially of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo is running out, Milomir Minic said today in an introductory report at the 12th Session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. The implementation of the party conclusions on Kosovo is its main topic.

The Serbian LC and all other social subjects in the republic have done a great deal to speed up the resolutions of many of the Kosovo problems. Various organizations of associated labor [OALS] institutions, municipalities, regions, and the city of Belgrade have all become involved. The republic is carrying out all its tasks in a responsible and organized manner. All the leaderships have been mobilized. A great number of cadres has been directly involved in the work in Kosovo. Over the last year over 600 activists and Central Committee members have spent shorter or longer periods of time working in Kosovo. The work by relevant groups in Kosovo has also become more organized and intensified.

Many of the tasks have been fulfilled. Results have been achieved in some areas of the economic and political life of the province. Positive changes have taken place in a number of municipalities, OALS, and local communities, Milomir Minic said.

Despite all the efforts made, the overall situation in the province cannot be assessed in positive terms. The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continues unabated, Albanian nationalists and separatists have intensified their activity, people's safety has been threatened, confidence in the system's institutions and in some leaderships has been seriously undermined, divisions on a national basis have deepened and have started to affect the LC and its leadership as well. The overall political-security situation is very difficult. [passage omitted]

The proportion of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo's population has fallen below 10 percent. All indications are that the counterrevolutionary objective of Albanian nationalists and separatists to create an ethnically pure Kosovo are about to be fulfilled. In 7 out of the total of 23 Kosovo municipalities this percentage is below 5 percent while 3 municipalities can already be described as ethnically pure. Seven years ago there were no Serbs and Montenegrins living in 606 out of the total of 1,445 localities. Today they are absent from 700. [passage omitted]

The LC in Kosovo has many strong opponents rooted in Albanian nationalism and separatism, in the bureaucratic front in society, and in the party itself, which are constantly making efforts to drag Communists into political opportunism. The price of opportunism and inconsistence paid over many years is very high in Kosovo, Minic said and added that this could be irreparable not only for the Province, but also for Serbia and for Yugoslavia. Overlooking and tolerating Albanian nationalism and nationalist awareness over many years has led to the creation and long-term retention of the historically conservative and unreal vision that the Albanian nationality should seek its fortune outside Serbia, in the creation of a separate Albanian state in Yugoslavia, under the slogan and program "Kosovo the Republic", after which the question of the Albanian nationality would be raised in a historically new manner, not only inside Yugoslavia but in general as well.

For the LC to look into this closely, at this juncture, Minic believes, does not present any kind of encroachment into the integrity of the Albanian nationality. At the same time bureaucratism has for years prevented the masses from expressing their interests and views, politically and clearly. That is why in connection with the tasks about which we speak today and in the actions which we are conducting, many members of the Albanian nationality are still restrained and reserved. In this link between nationalist awareness and widely spread bureaucratism, which in particular misuses youth, there are instances of increasingly aggressive and perfidious activity of Albanian nationalism. It is striking at the most sensitive points, such as shared life, and it is Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo who are exposed to its strong pressure.

The counterrevolutionary aim of an ethnically pure Kosovo, Minic said, is the biggest tragedy at this juncture and the greatest humilation for Serbs and Montenegrins. But from a long-term and historical point of view this is the biggest tragedy for the Albanian nationality since it leads it toward isolation which, sooner or later, will surely threaten its economic, social, cultural, and therefore, national interests.

Political forums in Kosovo, Minic continued, are still having difficulties in freeing themselves from their own isolationism, inefficiency, and an essentially wrong work method. [passage omitted]

Today we should repeat that we have not succeeded in turning Pristina University into one of the decisive factors in the struggle with the heritage of the several-year-long indoctrination of a generation which constitutes the majority of the Albanian intelligentsia. Still there is no research and critical scientific work coming from the university concerning the causes of the drama of international relations in Kosovo and concerning the need for a new vision and global concept of the development of Kosovo as a factor of stability in Yugoslavia. We should determine why this is so. According to people from the university, Albanian intellectuals and the intelligentsia are still keeping quiet, as if they are awaiting different times. [passage omitted]

Dealing with economic and political problems in Kosovo should be linked with adequate measures as part of an active demographic policy. In Kosovo this policy and family planning have still not been accepted as an imperative.

Difficult problems which are slowly being dealt with are creating dramatic pressures on the Serbian and Montenegrin population, and the aggressive activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists are the main cause of frequent gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins. In most cases citizens gather under the leadership of the Socialist Alliance and the LC.

The main tone and feature of these gatherings, Minic said, is the demand that real and difficult problems be dealt with, that the activity of Albanian nationalists, which brings anxiety and uncertainty, not be hushed up but prevented and stopped for good. At these meetings there are also harsh words, wrong stands, and unacceptable, even nationalistic demands. But the main demands are for the realistic interests of people who are asking leaderships to find solutions to some unsolved problems in cooperation with the people. [passage omitted]

As far as gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins in the province are concerned, Minic stressed, the new thing is not that they are dissatisfied with their own situation and criticize delays in eliminating nationalistic pressures, injustice, and inequality, but that they are making it known very clearly that they do not accept their own position and situation, they do not want to suffer, struggle, stay in Kosovo, and live together with Albanians and others. Instead of criticizing why they gather, this fact should be respected with full responsibility and under no circumstances should the fact that people who gather to demand their rights be the subject of discussion. On the agenda should be the causes which make them feel inequality and believe that they are unsafe. [passage omitted]

The most important task, according to Minic, is to ensure personal and property security for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and their protection from attacks and pressures by Albanian nationalists and separatists. The security of people and their safe life is the first condition for political work, for dealing with all other, equally difficult problems. There is no question of compromise in connection with the questions of people's equality and their personal and property safety, nowhere and with nobody. [passage omitted]

Of great significance for the lasting normalization of the political and security situation in Kosovo, according to Minic, are the forthcoming constitutional changes. They should express a clear constitutional position for Kosovo as an integral part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and on the entire territory of the republic there should be a uniform implementation of the necessary state functions which will ensure the equality of all working people and citizens in the realization and protection of their constitutional rights and freedoms by judicial and other republican organs. [passage omitted]

The differences between the leaderships of the LC of Serbia and the LC of Kosovo in evaluating the situation, in the method of struggle, and of current processes and manifestations in Kosovo emerged again recently. I believe there are no reasons for major difference. Information reveals most convincingly, to give an example, that emigration is still intensive and that the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists has been stepped up. It is more than obvious that the enemy activity and the slow solution of the problems are the main reasons for citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality rallying together.

So we are not talking about the fact alone that LC organs—ranging from basic LC organizations up to provincial and Central Committees—must coordinate their assessments but also that the facts implicit in our life and practice should be compared with the tasks and assumed commitments. This will provide the best indication of who is doing what and also the direction in which the differences are eliminated by the LC in the interest of the unity of action and on the basis of the facts, too, and not on the basis of voluntarism in political deliberations and decisions.

There is no dilemma in the LC of Serbia, only the path of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session can be the basis of unity. The nature of the draft theses for this session stems from that, too. We are not talking about new conclusions—they are not required—but about the issues concerning which no results have been achieved or the results are inadequate, and for this we are laying down additional commitments in view of new conditions and a new situation, Minic said in conclusion. [passage omitted]

Recalling that discussion about the implementation of the party plenums on Kosovo is being conducted at a time of protests by the workers who are dissatisfied with the situation in society, with rampant nationalism and divisions across the country, even in the LC and in sections of the leadership, Radisa Gacic drew attention to the fact that the situation in Kosovo is subject to differing interpretations, without the required degree of unity, which is one of the basic requirements stemming from the LCY Central Committee conclusions on Kosovo. He pointed to the need for the Serbian Central Committee and for the Kosovo Provincial Committee to invest maximum efforts to arrive at realistic and agreed assessments on all essential issues so that the conditions for the stabilization of the situation can be created.

While not denying the results which have been attained, Gacic said that the difficult and complex situation in Kosovo has been going on far too long and is, in fact, getting worse. Divisions occur in terms of national membership among LC members and even among sections of the leadership. Safety for the Serbs and Montenegrins has not been ensured and so emigration continues. The most essential condition for the situation to be stabilized is to bring about international tolerance and trust, and if that is not brought about in any part of our country then the whole of our system is in jeopardy. And instead of trust it is mistrust which is being intensified.

Where are the LC and the SAWP and, especially, where are the Albanian communists and working people? Why is one section of the population terrorized, why is there no appropriate activity of the Albanians and differentiation in every specific environment, asked Gacic. Serbs and Montenegrins rally together, said Gacic. They organize meetings and visits and they are denounced by the forums. However, one has to be with the people and arrange for all of them to meet together because these protest meetings are based on justified reasons. This is why we have to find out to what extent some constitutional solutions are responsible for the successful work of individual organs in the province, republic, and federation—so that we can change them without insurrection and people being hot-headed about it.

Spasoje Todorovic stressed that the normalization of the situation in Kosovo is being hindered most by the indolence and passivity of a considerable section of Albanian Communists, especially young people. There are few occasions when their voice is heard against the violence against the Serb population in the province. Is it possible that after as many as 7 years no differentiation has been carried out between the nationalists and honest Albanians?, asked Todorovic.

We must be aware that Serb nationalists are also taking advantage of the situation, manipulating other people's misfortune. They should not have been in the processions of the Kosovo inhabitants who were seeking help in Novi Sad. However, I think that the Vojvodina leadership should have received these people better. They had been driven by their troubles to visit them, said Todorovic.

Bajram Gasi stressed that the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo represents a constituent element of Yugoslavia within the Socialist Republic of Serbia and that the status of the province has to be interpreted in this way alone. To look on the status of Kosovo in any other way plays into the hands of the enemy. We must take a clear stance on all the attacks against the 1974 SFRY Constitution because they represent an attack against Tito and against his achievements, Gasi stressed.

Talking about the struggle against nationalism, we must also look at the results of the struggle against bourgeois right-wingers, the memorandum by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the proposal by the Association of Serbian Authors on the constitutional amendments. You cannot fight one nationalism with another nationalism, Gasi said. [passage omitted]

Emigration represents our biggest misfortune for which history will never forgive us. However, individual LC leaderships are more alarmed by the arrival of a few hundred Serbs and Montenegrins in Belgrade and Novi Sad than by the departure forever of thousands of people from Kosovo to Kraljevo, Kragujevac, and Smederevo, stressed Milojevic. [passage omitted]

Nebih Gasi was categorical in his claim that it is not true to say that nothing has changed for the better in the province since the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session. Single cases of attacks on the safety and property of individuals must not be generalized, he stressed. Gasi said that the expeditiousness of the organs of the judiciary has been stepped up, penal policy has been stiffened, and that mistakes in the work of these services happen like in other environments. No rape was committed in the province last year, but there were six attempts, said Nebih Gasi. This year there was one rape case which is being investigated.

Because of irresponsible work, 24 people in the organs of the judiciary in the province were relieved of their posts while over 200 security organ employees were punished because of a lack of discipline. Criminal charges were brought against 14 of them, while 7 were dismissed from work.

Having stressed that no one in Kosovo opposes the rallies by Serbs and Montenegrins, Nebih Gasi rebuked the self-styled leaders who go from place to place, rallying together the people and acting in this way outside the legal institutions and agreed policy.

Zoran Andjelkovic began his discussion statement by noting that he expected Nebih Gasi to speak about specific problems in specific environments. The stories

that the situation in Kosovo is better only serve to satisfy someone's conscience because as long as one single family wants to move out of Kosovo, stressed Andjelkovic, the situation in the province cannot be described as being better. As far as threats to the safety and property of the non-Albanian population is concerned Andjelkovic said that beside the perpetrators the organizers, too, are important, and they are keeping in the shadows today.

Someone's responsibility has to be ascertained for the nonimplementation of the Yugoslav program on stopping the emigration and this issue has to be raised at the federal level. [passage omitted]

Daut Jasanica commented critically on a section of the introductory report and also on some discussion statements which take the provincial leadership to task for inadequate activity at the grass-root levels. There is no need to go from one extreme to another, he said, and denied the evaluations that the excesses against the Serbs and Montenegrins are denounced adequately enough. They are severely denounced, he said. The real question is: How to act in a more preventive way. Let us do everything to turn around the attitude toward the Yugoslav program, he said, advocating a greater degree of readiness to bring views closer together for a cogently argued discussion. [passage omitted]

Kacusa Jasari remarked critically that the material prepared for the session of the LC of Serbia Central Committee today did not mention the recent LC provincial conference which discussed comprhensively the international relations and unanimously established the stands on this issue. Reacting to some criticism and mentioning by name members of the provincial leadership, Kacusa Jasari said that she cannot accept the assessment that in the leadership she was sitting together with separatists, and in particular, she did not accept the assessment that she herself was a separatist. [passage omitted]

Kacusa Jasari went on to say: I would not like to be supported as a leader only by one nation, nor can I accept that anyone thinks about the Serbs and Montenegrins, or anybody else in Kosovo for that matter, more than I do. As time goes on we are getting closer to it. She pleaded that we should speak more about the number of emigrants who have returned to Kosovo and only then look at the areas where there is emigration so that, as she put it, the hope can be instilled for those living there that there are people who are returning.

It is impermissible that a majority of the LC municipal committees in the province do not put petitions and grievances by inhabitants on their agenda, said Zoran Matkovic. Nikola Jovanovic took umbrage at the fact that the arrival of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad had been described as a "threat to the political essence of the SAP of Vojvodina." Snap assessments should not be made, he stressed, nor should they be different, and if they are, they should be explained by the force of argument. [passage omitted]

Because of the constitutionally unresolved status of Serbia in the SFRY, Prvoslav Ralic said, it is not only the system of political and ideological values but of humanist and civilized values, too, which is going to pieces. The physical and personal successors immediately following Tito, said Ralic, are fragmenting Yugoslavia and are depriving this country of its historic identity and are stifling the revolution.

Because of political division and all the troubles of separate authority in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Ralic went on to say, we have landed in a situation where some kind of ideological and political civil war is going on. The leaderships, the working people, and the people in general are divided and because of the rule of the ideology of ethnic areas absurd things happen—the leaders criticize the working people, refuse to talk with them, criticize them, and prevent them from speaking, belittle, and control them.

According to Ralic this is proof that the authorities who do this are not the authorities of the working people. He pointed out the illusion whereby the Serbs from both provinces would appear not to be in favor of the implementation of their rights at the republican level because this is what sections of the provincial leadership think.

We are stagnating because of the irrational strength of independent political groups, Ralic believes. These groups, which are tolerated by the people but are holding them out to ridicule as well, operate in a way which is both sorry and false. Wishing to remain the representatives of the people, they bemoan the crisis of society, they adopt a defeatist stance toward it, and do all that to prevent them from being seen as one of the main causes of the crisis.

The conspiracy of silence has been broken, Ralic said, adding that the Communists cannot be against a spontaneous reaction by the people to the crisis in our society. The policy of regional stability no longer makes headway anyway. The provinces cannot be politically stable without making the Socialist Republic of Serbia unstable. Nor can one think of Albanian emancipation while the elementary issues of human rights and freedoms of the Serbs and Montenegrins are considered of secondary importance. To enjoy peace in one's own home—that is not LCY ideology.

Some people, Ralic believes, do not seem to be able to reconcile themselves with the historically won and based fact that the SAP of Vojvodina is in the north of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, that the SAP of Kosovo is in the south of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and that what is in the middle is not Serbia proper but the remaining socialist Serbia. To denounce the demonstrations of the working people from Kosovo and not to take

part in the implementation of the jointly arrived at conclusions—this is political irresponsibility of a special kind, the hypocrisy of the authorities who are waxing well.

Those who are not strong enough to suppress the revolution are not entitled to push away those who are spontaneously reacting to it because in doing so they are playing into the hands of retrograde developments. You cannot react differently to protests in Yugoslavia. Some people cannot have the right to organize a meeting with tens of thousands of people taking part because of the arrest of three people suspected in a regular and legal way of having divulged a military secret without an explanation being sought for that, without asking for an explanation from a different group of people for a protest of 1,000 people over a general ethnic crime.

In addition, somebody has deliberately come up with the false report, said Ralic, that the LC of Serbia is organizing the rallies and the processions of people seeking solidarity in the struggle against the genocide. The irredentists, he went on, have started to operate in Belgrade as well. People are getting anonymous letters with Enver Hoxha's insignia and initials and other despicable insinuations. When the inhabitants of Novi Sad start getting such letters then it will become clear who is upsetting the calm public of Vojvodina.

Someone has carried out a dispicable swap between the theses and the meaningless argument that the changes in the political system in the Socialist Republic of Serbia will not at all change the position of the Serbs in Kosovo, said Ralic who also advocated unification before it is too late. As long as one plays the card of one's own nation and of one's own territory, socialism in Yugoslavia is under a threat. The worst thing is that no one among the ruling structures today is ashamed of the fact that we are gradually writing ourselves out of self-management history, said Prvoslav Ralic in conclusion.

Speaking of Kosovo, Danilo Markovic recalled that recently Tito's name was often mentioned and this happened also during the meeting today. Some believe that Josip Broz Tito was responsible for the present situation in the province, while others think that any change would amount to an attack on Tito and his achievements.

I believe that neither the former nor the latter are right. The view that nothing done during Tito's lifetime can be changed is unacceptable, because there were changes also during his lifetime and their basic motive was to give the working class more democracy. Bv the same token, no one can seriously think, just to give an example, that Josip Broz knew that the text books for Kosovo were coming from Albania, stressed Markovic. [passage omitted] [TANJUG part 29 not received] [passage omitted]

Ljubisa Igic stressed that recently people have not been shying away from making accusations that the Serbian people are nationalistic by definition and that the LC of Serbia is the prisoner of Serbian nationalism, and that the Serbian Central Committee is a place where alarm and the rallying of citizens is being encouraged. Igic described these rumors as dirty political slanders adding that he was very upset by the fact that no one in Novi Sad had spoken with the citizens from Kosovo. To ascribe to them enemy motives, known to them alone, "and refuse any contact with the citizens" is, in Igic's view, a gesture with which the political leadership covers itself with shame.

Speaking of the unprecedented violence against the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, Balsa Spadijer stressed that we were not talking about emigration but expulsion. These peoples are not emigrants, they are expellees. Having mentioned that this problem is viewed differently in the republic, he expressed the opinion that the formation of a united Serbia is the way to overcome this problem.

[passage omitted]

Spadijer wondered how to interpret the proposals coming from Vojvodina whereby the anthem and the coat of arms alone have to be changed in the Constitution. He also wondered who the protagonists and the compilers of the statements in Vojvodina are who evidently believe in democracy without the people. According to Spadijer, Bosko Krunic recently was explaining to the old veterans how the agreement on constitutional amendments will be attained soon but he failed to say that some of the issues that have not yet been coordinated are the most essential for the formation of a unified Serbia.

The Constitution, Spadijer categorically stated, should be decided on by the people, and the most democratic way to do that would be to hold a referendum.

If we do not do everything possible to constitute Serbia as a state of the Serbian nation and all other nations and nationalities, as Slovenia is a state of the Slovenes, and Croatia is a Croatian nation, we shall bear great responsibility for what we have failed to do, Drasko Milicevic stressed. [passage omitted] [TANJUG part 34 not received] [passage omitted]

It is precisely this Central Committee which was the first to contribute through its uncompromising policy toward more significant steps in solving the Kosovo drama, Borisav Jovic said. However, there are noticeable attemtps to bring doubts into the decisions of the Serbian LC Central Committee and to attribute the causes of differnces in stands to this forum. We shall defend our convictions with supported arguments, Jovic said, saying that some people are afraid of such a debate and therefore resort to a closed session or avoid talking to people. [passage omitted]

The Vojvodina leadership does not flinch from open attacks on the Serbian leadership and expressions of disagreement about the draft constitutional amendments, Radisav Simic said. It is ready for this, but it is not ready to come out in front of the people of Kosovo, as civilized behavior would demand. However, the citizens of Kosovo returned satisfied since they met with understanding and support from the people of Novi Sad. The behavior of citizens in Novi Sad is the highest condemnation of the Vojvodina leadership, Simic added, expressing the view that the constitution should be changed.

Taking part in the debate, Dusan Ckrebic said that after the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session, and despite increased involvement, the main problem remains—how to ensure elementary civilized rights for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. Time is not on our side since, Ckrebic said, we are approaching the point at which after a year or two we no longer will have to speak about Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Sveta Trajkovic called on the members of the highest leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to pay attention to the fact that in Serbia proper, no matter how much Serbian nationalists would like to see the opposite, there has been no growth in the anti-Albanian mood despite all the events in and in connection with Kosovo. This is so because in the republic a firm fortress has been built against the creation of such a mood and against any nationalistic revenge. [passage omitted]

Milka Puzigaca expressed concern over instances of starting constitutional debates in an unconstitutional manner, illustrating her claim with the fact that demonstrators from Kosovo in Novi Sad also carried a slogan saying "down with the Constitution." They did this without thinking of the consequences and without responsibility, she said and asked what else we can expect after this. [passage omitted]

Today there was a great deal of debate suggesting that some people favor and some oppose changes, Svetislav Stojakov said. For how long will we be playing the same tune, he asked. For how long will some people, under the shield of science, use the logic of a political poster and reduce all specific features into a three or four schematic stands.

Some people are obsessed with autonomy, though they lack autonomous views and have difficulty in saying that everything which should be overcome must be replaced by something even more progressive. [passage omitted]

The appeal of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to this Central Committee to achieve unity and overcome the situation in Kosovo should not be a replacement for that which the Yugoslav party leadership and other central committees should do to overcome this problem, Zika Radojlovic stressed. Concerning assessments of Serbian and Montenegrin gatherings, Radojlovic said that their critics do not wish to notice sincere demands for justice, but only pay attention to individual slogans of indignant and angry people from which even the participants of the meetings dissociate themselves, and cite them as evidence of Chetnik ideas and unitarism.

In response to several comments about the undemocratic work of the constitutional commission of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Borisav Jovic said that this commission will not fulfill its function if it does not choose from the offered solutions—among which are also those proposed in the provinces—that which should be proposed to the assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. In doing this, Jovic said, nobody can say that the commission acted undemocratically in carrying out its task.

The Serbian LC Central Committee session ended on Friday just before 0600 with the adoption of theses on further activities on the implementation of the conclusions of party plenums on Kosovo. In a debate which, with several short breaks, lasted almost 21 hours, 70 members of the Central Committee took part. The debate was characterized by many explicitly critical assessments and fierce polemics. Therefore, the question raised by one of the last participants in the discussion, Tomislav Tomicevic, to what extent shall we be able to be united in action on the implementation of positions after this session at which through a discussion we have not shown a great degree of unity, is an eloquent one and can in many ways be seen as a warning.

Serbian CC Supports Kosovo Personnel Changes

LD1807041988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1737 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—The today published conclusions from the Thursday session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia (LCS) predominantly urge every possible political and legal measure for providing the full personal and material security of Serbs and Montenegrins in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and protecting them from attacks by Albanian chauvinists and separatists.

Separatist unrests from the positions of Albanian chauvinism broke out in 1981 in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which is part of the Republic of Serbia. From that time on the Serbian and Montenegrin population of the province has been under pressure from Albanian separatists whose main intention is to force them to migrate and thus create an ethnically "pure" province.

The LCS Central Committee demands that the communal party committees in Kosovo draw up concrete programs to stop the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins, especially in those regions from where migration is particularly heavy. It is necessary to speed up the construction of economic and infrastructure projects which will supply jobs for all those who have migrated but wish to return and continue living in Kosovo.

The LCS Central Committee conclusions underscore the necessity of strong legal measures against individuals and organs whose mark is irresponsible and unlawful. In that sense, the Central Committee supports the replacing of some cadre in certain party organizations and leaderships in Kosovo, primarily in the party committee of the city of Pristina.

Serbia's top party leadership also obliges Communists in respective republican organs to give jobs to Albanians from Kosovo who are looking for work outside the province.

Regarding a petition by about 50,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo of two months ago which expresses dissatisfaction with the slow changes in the province, Communists in republican organs are asked to do their best to urgently solve [words indistinct].

When the vital problems of the population in this province are solved, the rallying of citizens on a nationalistic basis and their petitions to official organs will cease, as stated in the conclusions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia.

South Serbian Workers Support Central Committee

LD1807095588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Leskovac, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Meetings have taken place in the organizations of associated labor [OALS] in Leskovac, Presevo, Bujanovac, Vranje, Lebane Bosiljgrad, and other communes in southern Serbia at which workers gave full support to the assessments and theses of the Serbian LC Central Committee and to its president, Slobodan Milosevic. At the same time, attempts by Vojvodina functionaries to devalue the work of some organs and republican officials in Serbia as well as the efforts made us far to find constitutional solutions to the republic's statehood were condemned and vigorously rejected. The workers are dissociating themselves from the views advocated by Bosko Krunic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Djordje Stojsic, Petar Matic, and other leading officials in the province of Vojvodina. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina LC Debates Novi Sad Incident

LD1707153488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 15 Jul (TANJUG)—The Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina today opened to the public the closed portion of its plenary meeting held the day before yesterday, which was dedicated to the information on and the discussion about the demonstration of a group of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in Novi Sad on 9 July. The extensive minutes of the meeting were made available today to all journalists.

In her introductory speech, Silvija Zugic-Rijavec assesses the events in the Novi Sad streets, saying that "this demonstration, without doubt, represents the crudest possible attack on the political essence of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina and its leadership since it came into existence. It represents a most undemocratic pressure, which abused the difficult position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, and it represents an attempt to destabilize the political relations in the SAP of Vojvodina."

For all of us, she added, the tribulations and the suffering of sections of the Serb and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo are shattering. In Vojvodina we always considered the problem of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo as a Yugoslav problem, and all of us, irrespective of our nationality, sympathize deeply with the difficult situation of the Serb and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo. The SAP of Vojvodina is endeavoring materially, professionally, politically, and from the staffing point of view to help stabilize the situation.

Rijavec drew attention to the attempts to create a false picture among the public about the recent event. She recalled, for example, that the presidium of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference have protested because the leadership of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference and that of Novi Sad allegedly refused to talk to the citizens of Kosovo. Would the Presidium of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference, she asked, have agreed to talk to a group that included both nationalists and bourgeois right-wingers such as Vojislav Seselj and others from Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Kosovo? Would the Presidium of the City Conference of the Belgrade SAWP have talked to those who in front of the Assembly of the SAP of Vojvodina chanted: "Who is saying, who is lying that Serbia is small"; "Oh, Commander Sindjelic"; and "Serb trumpet is heard from Kosovo." Does the Presidium of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference really believe that one should have talked with those who have shouted: "We will kill Azem"; "Down with Shqipetars"; "We have won the war and we are losing peace"?

Is it possible that in their view one should have talked to those who, abusing the difficult position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, are taking advantage of the situation merely to smear the constitutional system of the country?

Parts of the speeches of those taking part in these demonstrations, recalled Rijavec, crudely attacked the constitutional system of the country and the constitutional status of the SAP of Vojvodina. The policy that the LCY, led by Tito, pursued for decades was also under attack. Why? Because the LCY as the leading ideopolitical force of this country played a key role in these constitutional changes, including the adoption of the 1974 constitution. What sort of a policy of national equality did the LCY pursue if it agreed to the 1974 constitutional solutions that allegedly "placed the Serb

and Montenegrin nations in a position not unlike that at the time of the Turkish rule," while "it strengthened the separatist movement of Albanian chauvinists"? wondered Rijavec.

Sooner or later the LC of both Vojvodina and Yugoslavia, and of course the LC of Serbia too, will have to discuss the objective of this terrible, unprecedented, and impermissible campaign, which is not restricted to the disqualifications of the Vojvodina leadership alone. However, the gauntlet has been thrown down. It has to be picked up and discussion accepted, said Petar Matic. We must, he added, appear before our and the Yugoslav public and before our own conscience with clear arguments and proofs as to what we are fighting for and see what others are fighting for. I do not believe that we will lack arguments, nor will we be in the position of wrecking the LC, socialism, and self-management.

Matic went on to say that the dispute on the relations within the LC and the Republic of Serbia had been going on for a long time. We must explain to the working class and to our and the Yugoslav public on which issues we disagree and on which points there is a conflict. Previously it was denied that this was an ideological conflict and that we have the same ideological positions. I believe that this is a major ideopolitical slash between two concepts, between the concept of the federal character of the Yugoslav community, equality of our nations and nationalities, brotherhood and unity...[sentence as received].

How can you explain that the SR of Serbia, within the SFRY,—the Serb nation—does not have its state, that it is not the same as others and that it is not equal? How can you explain, without realizing the consequences, that without any authority and without a mandate, some people in the leading structures of the LC of Serbia find themselves speaking on behalf of the Serb people in Vojvodina and elsewhere? I do not think the consequences have been explored adequately enough. You cannot in a given situation speak on behalf of the whole nation, when that nation does not live in Serbia alone, or in the Republic of Serbia alone, and at the same time deny other leaderships the right to speak on behalf of their nation—Croat, Hungarian, or Albanian.

I think we must be concerned, and with good reason, about the unity of the Yugoslav community and about the disruption of this unity. One idea offered is that Serbia has not been constituted as a republic, nor is it a state, but other platforms have been proffered as well. What could be the possible meaning of these platforms, and where are they supposed to take us?, wondered Matic.

Just imagine if, to give an example, Kucan or somebody else, in Croatia, were to say the same thing that Milosevic or Jovic said? What a commotion, what a hullabaloo would have ensued.

What are we to say about the attacks on the LC and the leadership of Vojvodina by Milosevic and Jovic? These are the attacks with greater consequences, added Matic.

As far as Vojvodina is concerned, nothing is unknown. Because of the condemnations that have been going on for some time, one must ask the question: What is not right in it? If the leaderhip is challenged and the people are called upon to bring it down, one must have proof that this leadership is performing badly. One must know whether this leadership is for or against the struggle for socialist self-management, whether it has secured the equality of the nations and nationalities, and whether it has carried out the LC policy.

Dwelling on the positions presented in the interview and speech of Slobodan Milosevic on the occasion of the launching of the Drmno thermoelectric plant, Matic said that this was an "orientation toward the settling of accounts with those with different opinions, and nothing else." It is not important whether we think along the LC or the nationalist line. What is important is that there must be obedience. One small but essential thing is forgotten, and that is that we, the Vojvodina LC, are part of the LCY, an independent subject in the LCY, and that Vojvodina is within the Yugoslav community. We are neither Pavlovic nor Stambolic, and the methods, which are not conducive to democratic procedure, applied in the account-settling with people of differing opinions, and not analyzing whether they were entirely right or wrong, cannot be popular in Vojvodina or in Yugoslavia.

How can one interpret in Yugoslavia the statement "Serbia will either be a republic or it will not exist." Well, this can be uttered by a writer, for example, or someone in the street, but there are serious consequences for this statement. "Serbia will live with or without Milosevic; it lived in the past and it should be lucky that this is the case," noted Matic.

Djordje Stojsic said that it should be suggested to the LCY Central Committee Presidium that it examine the events during the past month or two on the Yugoslav political scene. The concluding speech by Slobodan Milosevic at the last session of the Serbian LC Central Committee must be taken into account. His interview with NIN must be considered and assessed from the ideopolitical point of view. His speech on Kostolac and Drmno must be analyzed. We are talking here about the president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, the largest LC, and about a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and member of the LCY Central Committee.

If these speeches and the interview with Slobodan Milosevic are analyzed, said Stojsic, we will obtain a great deal of information and see that a series of stands are not in keeping with LCY policy, with our program, especially when it comes to the policy on national issues and intranational relations. "These are terrible things, the

things that were said there. If this were analyzed, and it has to be, we must say that we would all seriously offend the LC if we do not talk openly and directly and give real qualifications."

Stojsic also mentioned the thesis: "Serbia will either become a republic or it will not exist." What is this, asked Stojsic. On whose behalf is he saying this? Whose stands are these? If there is no Serbia or any other federal unit, there can be no Yugoslavia. When Milosevic says "or it will not exist," this means a declaration of war and struggle of extermination, says Stojsic. We are discussing this one episode of the arrival of people from Kosovo, but these are far more terrible things. "If we do not speak clearly about these things today and do not say what is what tomorrow, this country will not get out of the crisis. The consequences will be unforseeable. Stojsic says that Milosevic identifies himself with Serbia, and asks: What will happen to individuals who do not think the same way he does?

Stojsic thinks that the real assessment on all these events in the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium cannot be made. "Fear reigns there." I beg you, what are these account-settlings from the eighth session to the present day with all the people who had different opinions at the eighth session. But what is worse—when I say that fear reigns—is that we reconcile ourselves to this and do not dare say what we are really thinking. In the explanation about Ivan Stambolic he says he is relieved because he was transferred to the organs of the federation. Listen to me, there was a packed room, just like here today. Communists, members of the central committee, are accepting a lie. He is relieving Bogdan Bogdanovic of the membership in the Serbian LC Central Committee because he wrote a book on his disagreement with the assessments and methods, and is asking for his political responsibility. They say: Because he does not turn up at the sessions of the central committee. All citizens and all Communists know that this is not true. This is what we hear in our sessions, from our leaders. It is a crisis we have never had in the LC. Impermissable moves are made and we are all keeping quiet for the sake of peace in the house. We must do something about it.

Stojsic explained that to begin with he had not taken Slobodan Milosevic seriously, that this was a man with unrealistic ambitions and he thought that there were beginners' mistakes and lack of experience. However, as time went on, Stojsic added, he committed bigger and bigger mistakes and now they were not only becoming serious, they were becoming fatal. "If he does not stop and if we do not muster enough strength in this LC and in the LCY, and if we do not realize this, who knows whither we shall go and where all this takes us. What would happen if everyone in Yugoslavia today—the Communists and the leaderships—were to start crying to one's nation that everything has been lost and deprived of its rights." [passage omitted]

Branimir Brkljac described the arrival of a group of Serb and Montenegrin citizens in Novi Sad as a new phase of the Kosovo drama. He explained this by reference to the fact that the public expression of dissatisfaction with the slow solution of the Kosovo problem had been transferred from Kosovo and the organs of the Federation to the organs of other federal units. He believes that the Kosovo knot will not be untangled overnight.

He said that the indoctrination of a section of the Albanian nationality, and particularly of the young people, with the ideology of Albanian nationalism had been going on too long.

The Kosovo leadership, a section of it, and not that leadership alone, with its opportunism, has been opening up the scope for this indoctrination for too long.

Brkljac stressed that he was not saying this in order to "project" the stabilization of the Kosovo situation "in the distant future" but to point out the fact that this was a process.

The accusations levelled against the Vojvodina leadership or, as he put it, against a section of that leadership, and in the way this was done, would suggest that the leadership was the main culprit for this action being slow. How is it that all of a sudden the Vojvodina leadership, or a section of it, is imputed such a stance? In Brkljac's view this absurd situation can be arrived at only by equating the overall action to resolve the Kosovo situation and the issue of the constitutional changes in Yugoslavia, and especially in the SR of Serbia. The logic is approximately as follows; Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are rightly dissatisfied because the situation is not being resolved and it is not being resolved because the SR of Serbia does not have enough authority in Kosovo, that is to say in the provinces. These powers are not forthcoming because Vojvodina will not allow the Constitution to be changed. There is the culprit for you, the finger has been clearly pointed at him. And on this point, Brkljac spelled it out: The manipulation of the dissatisfaction of the people is the basic thing. For this reason we have the special responsibility to take into account the fact that our criticism must be directed against the manipulators and the inspirers of these theses.

Vasa Milic, president of the Presidium of the Novi Sad LC City Committee, said that the organizers of the arrival of the group of Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad from Kosovo led the citizens they had brought with them, the working people and citizens of Novi Sad, and the entire Yugoslav public, down the garden path. What they had intimated as being the objective of their arrival was only a smokescreen for their real intentions, which could have been gathered previously and which were demonstrated totally in the city streets. It was not accidental that the organizers of the arrival rejected that a delegation of their's should have talks in the provincial

conference of the Vojvodina SAWP, nor was it by some accident that the notorious nationalists in the country and in the city, and others of their ilk, happened to be found among them.

Milic recalled that as early as the first discussions on the counterrevolutionary events in Kovoso the idea was put forward that it was unacceptable that the causes of the counterrevolution should be sought in the autonomy and in the constitutional status of the provinces. "We stressed that the theses such as those the SR of Serbia has have not been constituted, that their rights are curtailed, that they are unequal in comparison with other republics...that they are inaccurate and very dangerous for our unity in the country and for the equality of our nations and nationalities."

We did not deny either then or later that there were problems in the fulfillment of some republican functions and in the development of unity and togetherness in it. On the contrary, we pointed out where and how they can be overcome, said Milic.

Winding up the discussion at the meeting of the provincial committee of the Vojvodina LC, President Milovan Sogorov noted that it had not only provided unreserved support for the assessment and stance set out in the statement issued by the Presidium but had also provided a much wider basis for the ideopolitical qualification and assessment of the demonstrations of the citizens of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities from Kosovo in the SAP of Vojvodina, mainly from the point of view of their character and political consequences that will ensue, especially since the political situation and relations in the country are getting worse every day. [passage omitted]

According to Sogorov the last thing the written and chanted slogans did was to appeal for a constructive, civilized, and democratic dialogue on the acute problem of Kosovo and its population. If there were any such expectations among the citizens who came from Kosovo to Novi Sad then they were probably let down by the organizers of these demonstrations, who provided an opportunity for proven nationalists, encouraged by many generic, provocative, unsubstantiated, and to common sense unacceptable accusations at the expense of the SAP of Vojvodina and its autonomy, in order to play their game on the open stage. For this reason I join all these assessments that this was political pressure without precedent in our social and political practice in the quest for allies for the demands that the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, the relations in the federation, and for other objectives as well, be radically changed. They also amount to a crude disqualification of the Vojvodina leadership and individuals in it and, of course, also of those people from the SAP of Vojvodina who are in higher organs.

This dangerous organized action, stressed Sogorov, opens the way for unconstitutional and unsystematic activity and leads to anarchy. He mentioned that this also opened the way for upsetting the stable intranational relations in Vojvodina and made an attempt to widen political obstruction that could fatally destroy brotherhood and unity and increase nationalistic tension in Vojvodina and in the country. This method of holding rallies and demonstrations, monitored by an, how shall I put it, unheard of attitude by a section of the public information media only foments our social situation and makes it even more dramatic.

We must all go back to the crucial question of the life of the workers of the citizens, especially young people, and work on the further development of intranational relations as the way to strengthen and to consolidate, in these difficult times, brotherhood and unity and the development of the political system of socialist self-management.

We must ask the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee to assess this event and the Central Committee to lay down further LCY political action. It should also establish concrete political action and responsibility for all this. Our responsibility will be to work in the future on the congress orientations and to carry out even better the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session. These demonstrations be accepted as a method of resolving the existing problems in our society. This has never been possible.

The provincial committee of the Vojvodina LC rejected all the attacks groundlessly levelled at Bosko Krunic's speech in the partisan village of Prhovo in Srem.

POLITIKA EKSRES Comments on Novi Sad

LD1607234688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1912 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 July (TANJUG)—When an attempt is made to justify a mistake at any price, then as a rule new and increasingly big mistakes are made one after another. The last and the biggest mistake was yesterday's supplementary report on the closed session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina in connection with the stay of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad, POLITIKA EKSPRES writes in a long commentary in tomorrow's issue. This text is also reprinted by POLITIKA in tomorrow's issue, stressing "unprecedented and insulting undertones from the session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina."

In terms of the comprehension and behavior of the leadership of that province's communists, is the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia at the same time the Central Committee of Vojvodina's communists? the commentator asks. He adds, among other things:

"The additional criticism by Djordje Stojsic addressed to the eighth session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia—a session which was held almost 1 year ago, and which Stojsic, in his capacity as president of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the LC of Vojvodina attended for 2 days and 2 nights—poses the following question: What is the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia to the communists in the province? Do Stojsic, Sogorov, and others attend the sessions of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia—which, by the logic of the LCY Statute and the statute of the LC of Serbia, and in accordance with the principle of the democratic centralism, should be their Central Committee as well—as guests from a different party from a faraway country?"

Perhaps the answer to this question was best provided by Petar Matic during the session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina: "Are we forgetting a small but important minor matter, that we, the LC of Vojvodina, are a part of the LCY, an independent factor in the LCY and Vojvodina, an independent factor in the Yugoslava community." Has the newly elected president of the organization of Yugoslav war veterans forgotten another, possibly even more important minor matter: That the LC of Vojvodina is an integral part of the LC of Serbia, and that the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina is an inseparable, integral part of the SR of Serbia... [punctuation as received]

Having noted that the people of Kosovo had not been taken to Novi Sad by the resolute line of the LCY and the LC of Serbia on the solution of the Kosovo problem, the commentator writes, among other things, that the people of Kosovo were taken to Novi Sad by the irresolute, bureaucratic, and opportunist attitude toward their tragedy, which dominates in our northern province.

Vojvodina Official on Provincial Committee Session

LD1707231488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—In connection with the articles published in the Sunday issues of POLITIKA, POLITKA EKSPRES and a commentary on Belgrade Television on Saturday regarding the discussion at a session of Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee held last week, Zdenko Pop, executive secretary of Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, made the following statement for Novi Sad Television:

"I am surprised at various speculations and untruths contained in these texts, all the more so as this session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee was attended by journalists from the above and other Yugoslav editorial boards. They know that the session was supposed to be an open one and that decision to hold it behind closed doors was made at the session itself in response to an appeal by the LCY Central Committee Presidium. We were convinced that others would also respect the LCY Central Committee Presidium's request. At the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, although the same issue was not on the agenda, this request was not observed. The Presidium of the Provincial Committee therefore decided that the public should be acquainted with what was said in the discussion at Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee about the demonstrations in Novi Sad, which took place despite our warnings."

"Regardless of all the unacceptable claims in these texts, I wish to say that it is, to say the least, a deception to maintain that the Serbian nation, Serbia, and the leadership of the SR of Serbia were under attack in the discussion at the Provincial Committee's session. In the contributions of the Provincial Committee members [word indistinct] irrespondible accusations there is not a single argument to support them; criticism and denials were voiced of some of the suggestions made by certain officials in their public statements. These officials can in no way be identified with the Serbian nation of the SR of Serbia or the entire Serbian leadership," Zdenko Pop said.

TANJUG Reviews Vojvodina Dispute

LD1807043988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1918 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—The publication of the minutes of the July 13 closed session of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, at which Serbia's highest party leadership was sharply criticized, has caused stormy reactions in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

One reason for divergencies between party leaderships of Serbia and its northern province of Vojvodina was the recent trip of several hundred ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo to Novi Sad, the capital of Vojvodina. They accused the leaderships of both provinces of opposing constitutional changes in Serbia, a condition for calming the situation in the Province of Kosovo.

The majority of the Kosovo population, ethnic Albanians, are pressuring Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate from the region. Serbia's leadership has no legal power to take any steps since both provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina, are attached to it only formally, while in practice, [words indistinct]. Hence the initiative to change Serbia's Constitution. The two provinces, however, are more or less openly putting up tough resistance to any changes.

The minutes from the closed session of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina were published right after the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia which was attended by representatives of both provinces, who, however, failed to convey the stands of their provincial party leaderships.

Meanwhile, citizens staged protest meetings in several Serbian cities criticizing the Vojvodina leadership for blocking constitutional changes in the republic.

Yugoslavia is made up of six republics and two autonomous provinces, both formally parts of Serbia. The federal Constitution defines the provinces as "constituent elements of the federation" and these practically enjoy the same rights as the republics. This has placed Serbia in an unequal position in regard to the other republics.

Belgrade Commentary on Vojvodina LC Session

AU1707200288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Unattributed commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] It was not difficult for the analysts of Yugoslav political events to predict that the arrival of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad would become a domestic political event that would be discussed for some time. One of the reasons for this was the fact that when the visit was announced, the provincial leadership stressed that Kosovo citizens would not be received and that they would not be welcomed. Nobody could predict at all that the discussion about Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad would have such sharp tones. Words became increasingly sharper and [word indistinct], and the visit by Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad, although not an event that could be of crucial political significance for internal affairs, has now become a reason for an open political clash.

Dilemmas caused by different assessments of the character of this meeting in the capital city of Vojvodina have been resolved by revealing the closed part of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee session discussing the visit by Kosovo citizens to Novi Sad. The public had the opportunity to learn about the essence of what was said at this session from Novi Sad television's version and the TANJUG statement, which was partly carried by the press, as well as about an open confrontation with the policy of the Serbian LC leadership and unreserved attacks on Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

The assessments, about which the public learned 2 days after they had been made, and the ferocity with which they were said, raise a number of questions, above all, why was this done—especially considering that after the session of the provincial committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee held a session at which all this could have been said. Anyone with a sound mind would realize that this was done because of the dissatisfaction with discussions in the Central Committee session and because it seems to be the right time to make public what the members of the top provincial LC organization were saying a few days before.

This raises the question of what making this discussion public—which has obviously been well prepared and represents a precedent in the sense that a closed session was recorded in full—means for the public. The session opted for making personal attacks rather than attacking policies, either because there were not enough arguments to criticize the policies, or they were (?found to be ineffective). The personal attack was conducted in a well known way, by name calling, in this case using the worst name, that of a nationalist, (?expressing) at the same time fear of a great Serbia, fear that has been present in this part of Yugoslavia since the prewar times.

One could justifiably ask about the facts. As usual, in vilifying others facts do not seem to be necessary because political slanders are by themselves both accusation and argument, and as a rule, a verdict. Is a dialogue of any kind possible at all if people are not prepared to accept any other views except their own?

Can we overcome the crisis without changing anything? Is the stubborn defending of the 1974 constitutional provisions disavowing everything that has been achieved so far on constitutional changes in Serbia and Yugoslavia? Or should the current constitutional organizations of relations in Serbia remain valid forever? So, one could say that this is the extreme case of a policy without false agreements, illusionary harmony, and [word indistinct] understanding. Following the recipe—say the worst about the attacked side, and the best about yourself—leaves no room for the possibility that the attacked could have done something positive and that the attacker could have made a mistake.

Has anything been said at the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee about the gauntlet that has been thrown down, and that it should be accepted? For whom and on whose behalf? Is this the wish of the widest membership and the people? And finally, could one in this (?massacre) count in advance on the widest support of those who were not asked for it?

Prokuplje Workers Protest Vojvodina Statements

LD1707133688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Prokuplje, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Over 300 workers of the first shift in the Toplicanka cotton yarn industry in Prokuplje held a protest meeting today during which the statements by individual leaders in Vojvodina were denounced in a most vehement fashion. The telegrams sent to the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia stress full support for the republican leadership and demand resolute action so that during the impending constitutional changes the SR of Serbia will be ensured a status equal to that of other republics in the country.

Over 200 Prokuplje war veterans held a special meeting today to denounce most vehemently the groundless attacks by a section of the Vojvodina leadership on the

policy of the SR of Serbia and its leadership. In endorsing support for the Serbian leadership, the veterans demand accountability from the federal and republican SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans Associations of Yugoslavia] boards and most vigorous measures to be taken against the unprincipled statements by individual leaders in that province.

Slovene SAWP Presidium on Upcoming Jansa Trial

AU1507155488 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] The Executive Committee of the SAWP of Slovenia met today prior to the trial of Jansa, Borstner, Tasic, and Zavrl, which is to begin before the Military Court in Ljubljana on Monday. It assessed the realization of the positions, proposals, and suggestions which it had adopted on this case just over a month ago. Gojko Brvar reports:

The Executive Committee was able to note that some specific suggestions connected with this case have met with a favorable response (?by the military) juridical organs. Above all, this refers to visits by relatives and by a personal physician, and to quickly dealing with the case. The military organs also announced what kind of military secret was involved. Nevertheless, the information available to the public has been very meager, and above all there is no sign that the three fundamental proposals by the Executive Committee are to be realized. These are: release from detention during the trial; a free choice of defense counsel; and at least partially public proceedings, to the extent that the alleged military secrets will not be disclosed. If these proposals are not met, the Executive Committee warns that the military juridical organs will bear responsibility for the development of the events in this sphere in the past and in the future.

(?Considering that it) still expects that the door of the courtroom will not be slammed shut, the Executive Committee sent a letter to the president of the Military Court, suggesting to the court that it should bear in mind the reasons in favor of holding the trial in public.

Professor Ljubo Bavcon said today that the Criminal Law Chair of the Law Faculty proposed to the Military Court president that he should allow a select public, which is to say lawyers of the faculty, to attend the trial. These would be Professor Peter Kobe, Professor Ljubo Bavcon, and Associate Professor Ivan Bole.

The Executive Committee has not yet received any reply from the Military Court president. The bench may respond to the Criminal Law Chair proposal at the beginning of the trial.

Through us, Professor Bavcon appeals to the people of Slovenia that they should refrain from any kind of unsuitable demonstrations on the day of the trial.

The Executive Committee also paid considerable attention to the question that the present events have broached and to the increased social will to clear and solve them slowly, for they cannot be dealt with in a hurry. This, of course, refers to criminal legislation that is not yet fulfilling its basic duty clearly enough which is the protection of the individual against repression by the state or another individual, [words indistinct] and the protection of (?fundamental) human rights and freedoms.

It pointed out the painful work that is in store for the constitutional courts, because our legislation is full of inconsistencies of which our present society cannot be proud; and a modern society, such as we wish to become, could be even less proud of them.

Yugoslav Youth Presidium on Jansa Candidacy

AU1507162688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Could Janez Jansa, who is held in custody, be elected president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Youth Federation? This quandary was discussed at a session of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Youth Federation Conference which is still under way. Jelena Radovanov reports:

A working group of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Youth Conference visited the Republican Conference of the Youth of Slovenia. Stances were adopted on this visit today. The most important stance can be singled out as follows: A lively democratic dialogue is being held in Slovenia, and its basic aim is the development of the social essence of Slovenia and Yugoslavia. This stance categorically denies the assessment that considers the situation in Slovenia to be counterrevolution.

The Yugoslav Youth Conference Presidium distances itself from all the doubts in the correctness and justification of the conduct of the investigation and juridical proceedings [against Jansa, Borstner, Tasic, and Zavrl]. It will begin a discussion in its organs to assess the need to change certain parts of the Yugoslav Criminal Law through regular assembly procedure.

These stances were adopted without polemics or stormy discussions. However, when the Presidium began to discuss whether Janez Jansa, who is held in custody, may be a candidate for president of the Slovene Youth Republican Conference, the discussion flared up. Although this question is a matter for the Slovene Youth Republican Conference, the Presidium of the Yugoslav Youth Conference believes that, in connection with this question, it has the duty to give a warning about the possible political consequences if Jansa were to be elected president of the Slovene Youth Republican Conference.

Slovene Presidency on Borstner, Jansa Trial

LD1507132288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1136 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Ljubljana, July 15 (TANJUG)—A lack of sufficiently convincing information on Ivan Borstner, Ivan "Janez" Jansa and David Tasic, accused of leaking military secrets, has greatly disturbed the Slovenian public, the Republic's Presidency said in a statement issued here yesterday.

Journalists Jansa and Tasic were arrested after being found in possession of confidential military documents given to them by Sergeant-Major of the Yugoslav Army Borstner. All three will be tried by a military court, with the main hearing opening on July 2.

The Presidency upheld a recommendation by the republican assembly for the three to be allowed to stand trial while at liberty and to choose their own attorneys. Should this be impossible, the Presidency proposed that, in keeping with the law, the trial be attended by experts in criminal law.

Noting that the political security situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia has worsened due primarily to the economic and social crisis, the Presidency emphasized that democratization and the economic reform were the basic prerequisites for its overcoming.

LC Membership Falls in Slovenia

AU1507163288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 88 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Number of Slovene LC Members Falls"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Jul—Judging by the figures published in Ljubljana DNEVNIK today, the number of LC members in Slovenia is continuing to fall this year.

From January to May, 3,800 members left the party, which is 3.4 percent of the total membership. These members were expelled or their membership had lapsed. Its own kind of record for this year was set in January, when the number of LC members fell by more than 1,000. The absolute record is definitely held by the Novo Mesto region, where the number of LC members fell by 5.7 percent in 5 months.

Falling LC Membership in Vojvodina

AU3006135588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 88 p 4

[Unattributed Report: "Ever Fewer LC Members"]

[Text] A fall in the number of LC members in Vojvodina was observed last year, as in several past years. The Vojvodina LC had 208,088 members at the end of 1987, which is 8,371 or 3.9 percent less compared with the end of 1986. Miodrag Koprivica, executive secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium warned that this is the largest annual decline in the past 4 years.

The tradition of falling LC membership, now established for several years, continues.

SFRY UN Representative on Airbus Downing

LD1607005788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0015 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] United Nations, July 15 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government and public received the news of the tragic downing of the Iranian passenger plane and the death of 290 people with deep regret and bitterness, permament Yugoslav representative to the United Nations Dragoslav Pejic said.

Speaking in the Security Council, Ambassador Pejic recalled that six Yugoslav experts and workers were also victims of that irrational act and that their death was received with sorrow and regret in Yugoslavia.

We believe that the investigation will shed light on all circumstances which lead to the accident and that appropriate measures will be taken to avoid similar tragedies in future, Pejic said.

The downing of the Iranian passenger plane, which cannot be justified, is maybe the strongest warning of the possible unforseeable consequences of the continuation of the present tense situation in the gulf, Pejic said, adding that the presence and massing of military fleets in the Gulf were a constant danger to an escalation of the conflict and interference by external forces.

Pejic informed the Security Council of the Yugoslav Government's view that an urgent international action for the ending of the Iran-Iraq war according to Resolution 598 was necessary.

Pejic believes that it is crucial that both sides now refrain from any actions which would lead to escalation and intensification of the dangerous situation.

ISI Reports Gandhi Speech at Brioni Banquet

BK1507110288 Delhi ISI Diplomatic Information Service in English 0833 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] India has reiterated its demand for mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Speaking at a banquet in Brioni last (July 14) night, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said that apartheid continues because those with the economic capacity to restrain this evil practice are unwilling to use their power for the cause of human rights and dignity. The banquet was hosted by the Yugoslav president, Raif Dizdarevic. The AIR special correspondent, Radha Nath Chaturvedi, reports that the prime minister in a nostalgic mood recalled his visit to Brioni as a young boy and referred to the island's idyllic

charm. He said in drafting the Brioni Declaration, the three leaders—Nehru, Tito and Nasser—were guided by their specific national experience, tempered by a lofty global vision.

Mr Gandhi said the increasing militarisation of the Mediterranean region has resulted in pressures of all kinds exerted on the nonaligned countries of the area. He called for the transformation of the area into a region of peace, security and cooperation.

Speaking on the growing militarisation in the Indian Ocean area, the prime minister spoke about the nonimplementation of the 17-year old UN declaration on the region as a zone of peace, and said the military presence of outside powers has dangerously escalated tension in the region. He said India wished to see effects being given to the declaration and it would also support the efforts to make the Mediterranean a zone of peace. The prime minister's speech touched on various global issues, which included the present concern of the nonaligned movement, disarmament, restructuring of world economic order, continuing escalation of Iran-Iraq war and South Africa.

Mr Gandhi is arriving in Madrid from Belgrade today (July 15) on a three-day official visit. This will be the first visit by an Indian prime minister to Spain.

Earlier, India and Yugoslavia have signed three agreements for cooperation in the fields of information and broadcasting, science and technology and sports and culture. The agreements were signed in Belgrade today (July 14). The prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and Yugoslavian prime minister, Branko Mikulic, were present at the signing ceremony.

Gandhi Cited on Role of Nonaligned

LD1507225588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 15 Jul 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zagreb, July 15 (TANJUG)—There is a large number of crisis regions in the world today involving the non-aligned and in which they should be more active, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said in an interview broadcast by the Zagreb TV today.

He pointed out as an examples the problems of South Africa, Kampuchea, and the Iran-Iraq war.

The Indian prime minister, however, emphasized the exceptional role of the Non-Aligned Movement, especially as of recently.

With its contemporary technology and military potentials, the world can survive only if it lives in the spirit of non-alignment, if blocs disappear and if the system of living together is transformed from military and economic domination to a system of full equality and peaceful co-existence, he said.

Gandhi also stressed the need for much greater economic cooperation between the non-aligned countries. "There is so much to do and so little occurs at the economic level in the relations of the non-aligned," Gandhi warned.

Gandhi said that the greatest failure of South-South cooperation was that "we do not know enough about each other."

Genuine challenges do not lie only at the economic level, he said. Genuine challenges lie in facing the changes before us, new beginnings appearing in the world.

We must be able to face them, the non-aligned must be sufficiently active, they must see and understand what is happening, Rajiv Gandhi said.